



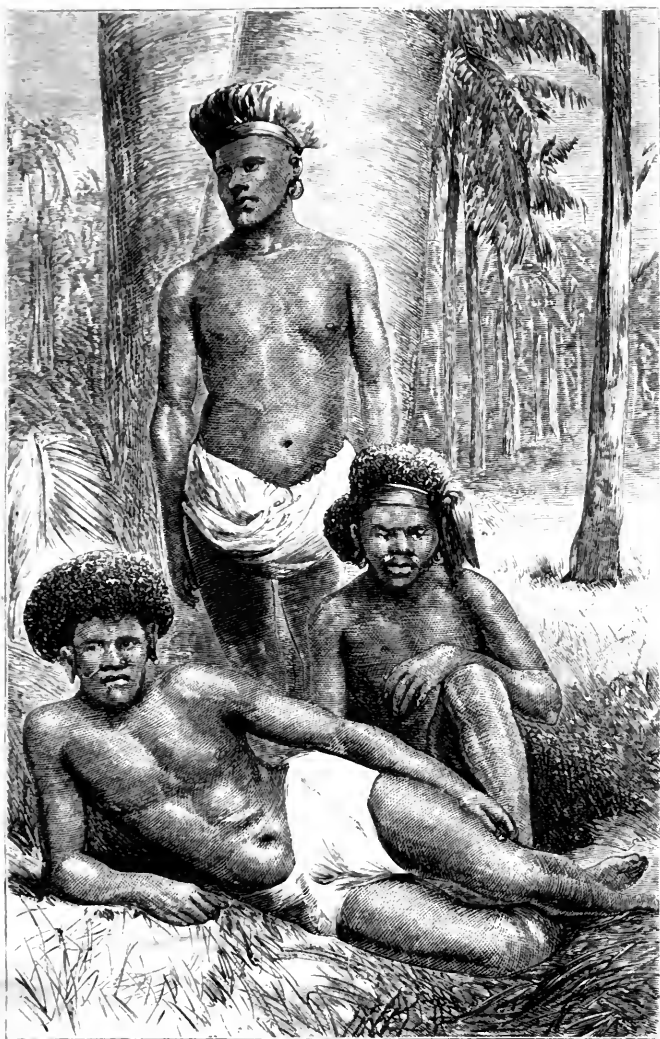
THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE STORY
OF
THE LIFU MISSION.

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY
EDINBURGH AND LONDON





NATIVES OF LIFU—PAPUANS.

THE STORY
OF
THE LIFU MISSION

BY THE
REV. S. M'FARLANE
MISSIONARY OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

LONDON
JAMES NISBET & CO., 21 BERNERS STREET
MDCCCLXXIII



BV
3680
L95 M16

PREFACE.

THE Story of the Lifu Mission was not originally intended for publication. The greater part of it was written in verse, expressly for friends in Manchester, during the leisure hours of the few months that we were prohibited from teaching and preaching to the Lifuans. When allowed to continue our work, we had neither the time nor the inclination to write verses. Our friends, who were probably more interested in the story than charmed by the poetry, expressed a strong desire to have the account in prose; and with no other object than to gratify that wish, and perhaps contribute a few papers to some periodical, we undertook the somewhat *prosy* work of writing "The Story of the Lifu Mission."

We have simply gone back in thought and lived our fourteen years of missionary life over again. The Lifu Mission has a thrilling history, furnishing material for a large volume; but our object has been not to try how long we can make our story, but rather in how few words we can fully and clearly relate it.

Writing is not our *forte*. We would rather be doing the work than writing about it; but having been urged

by those who have seen the manuscript since our arrival in England, and in whose judgment we have perfect confidence, to complete and publish it, we offer it to the public, hoping that it may tend to prevent the recurrence of such proceedings on the part of Government officials as those which disgraced the French flag at Lifu, and also that it may encourage and stimulate those who are in sympathy with the great work—the truest of all reforms—*evangelising the world*.

ALEXANDRA ROAD, BEDFORD,
April 21, 1873.

CONTENTS.



CHAP.	PAGE
I. LIFU—ITS SITUATION, PHYSICAL FEATURES, AND INHABITANTS,	1
II. SUPERSTITION, TRADITIONS, AND SOCIAL STATE,	13
III. INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY—PAO, THE FIRST MISSIONARY —EARLY STRUGGLES,	24
IV. SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL UNDER PAO—IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS —NEW TEACHERS,	35
V. FURTHER EVANGELICAL TRIUMPHS—ARRIVAL OF ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS,	48
VI. A TOUR AMONG SOUTH SEA MISSIONS—ROMANCE AND REALITY,	63
VII. THE NATIVE CHURCH IN LIFU—DEATH OF PAO—MAY MEETINGS,	76
VIII. FORMATION OF CHURCHES—BUILDING OPERATIONS—NATIVE STUPIDITY,	86
IX. THE MISSIONARY—HIS CRITICS—ENCOURAGEMENTS AND TRIALS,	98
X. ESTABLISHMENT OF LAWS—THE PRIESTS AND THE MISSION- ARIES—COLLISION,	112
XI. LANDING OF FRENCH TROOPS—EXULTATION AND MACHINA- TIONS OF THE PRIESTS,	124
XII. FURTHER INTERFERENCE AND INCREASE OF TROUBLE,	141
XIII. ATTACK ON THE MISSION—ARRESTMENT OF THE WORK—A PAPIST CHIEF,	153
XIV. PEACE RESTORED—ARRIVAL OF THE “DAY SPRING”—THE WORK RESUMED,	168
XV. THE GOVERNOR BAFFLED—HIS POLICY—HARDSHIPS OF THE NATIVES,	180

CHAP.	PAGE
XVI. MEMORIAL TO THE EMPEROR, AND HIS REPLY—CONCILIATORY MEASURES—DELAYS,	195
XVII. SUMMARY OF RESULTS TO ALL PARTIES,	209
XVIII. MISTAKES—NATIVE DISLIKE OF THE FRENCH—BULA'S CASE, .	220
XIX. THE GOVERNOR'S DECISIONS—POLICY AND TREATMENT OF THE MISSION,	236
XX. UVEA AS A MISSION-FIELD—THE PRIESTS AND TEACHERS—MISSIONARY ORDERED OFF,	250
XXI. MR ELLA PERMITTED TO OFFICIATE—HIS TROUBLES—CRUELITIES,	261
XXII. ARRIVAL OF A COMMISSION—BULA'S CASE,	275
XXIII. PHYSICAL FEATURES—NATIVE CHARACTER—MARE AS A MISSION FIELD,	283
XXIV. THE PRIESTS AT MARE—AGGRESSIONS—THEIR POLICY, AND ITS FAILURE,	295
XXV. MARE—UNJUST DIVISION OF THE ISLAND—CRUELTY TO THE NATIVES—THEIR EYES OPENED,	308
XXVI. COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—WITHDRAWAL OF THE TROOPS—LESSONS,	324
XXVII. MISSION EXTENSIONS—NEW GUINEA AS A FIELD—DIFFICULTIES,	343
JOURNAL OF A MISSIONARY VOYAGE TO NEW GUINEA, .	355

THE STORY OF THE LIFU MISSION.

I.

SITUATION AND DISCOVERY OF LIFU—GEOLOGICAL FEATURES—PHYSICAL FEATURES—WELLS—BARRENNESS OF THE ISLAND—DIVISION OF THE ISLAND—DEPOPULATION, CAUSES OF—MODE OF LIFE OF THE INHABITANTS—LANGUAGE—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—NATIVE WARS—FEASTING AND DANCING—SIWELEWEL—SINGERS—MEN SINGERS—PREACHING CHRIST TO THEM.

LIFU is the largest and most populous island of a small archipelago; about sixty miles to the east of New Caledonia, called the Loyalty Group. The Islands which compose this group are Lifu, Mare, Uvea, Toka, and four islets between Lifu and Mare, two of which are inhabited. The highest point of these islands not exceeding about two hundred and fifty feet, will sufficiently explain why Captain Cook sailed along the eastern coast of New Caledonia without discovering them. They were not known until about 1803; and M. Dumont d'Urville was the first to make a hydrographic chart of the group.

It is not my intention here to enter upon the question of coral formations. Elaborate descriptions of coral

islands are easily procured. I may just say that coral islands may be divided into three classes. 1. *Volcanic islands*, which are mountainous. 2. *Crystal islands*, which sometimes rise to an elevation of 500 feet, and often exhibit precipitous cliffs, and contain extensive caverns. 3. *True coral islands*, or *atolls*, which consist merely of a narrow reef of coral surrounding a central lagoon, and very often of a narrow reef—perhaps half a mile in breadth—clothed with luxuriant vegetation, bordered by a narrow beach of snowy whiteness, and forming an arc, the convexity of which is towards the prevailing wind, whilst a straight line of reef, not generally rising above the reach of the tide, forms the chord of the arc.

Lifu and such islands as Mangaia and Savage Island belong to the second class of islands, comparatively few in number, which are composed of coral rocks, more or less modified by the action of air, water, and other agents. These islands do not exhibit the picturesque beauty of the first class, nor the soft and gentle loveliness of the third, which has received the enthusiastic praise of all voyagers in the South Seas; still they are beautiful in their own peculiar way.

Geologically speaking, Lifu is evidently young. At first it was entirely under water, then composed of reefs inclosing a vast lake, and ultimately uplifted, by the convulsions of nature, from the bosom of the sea. From different parts of the coast it appears that these upheavings have occurred at four distinct periods; and from the numerous fossil shells that may be found em-

bedded in the rocks about six feet above high water mark, many of which retain a part of their colour, and nearly all of the same kind to be found living round the coast, it is evident that the last upheaval must have been of a recent date.

After the first uplift, Lifu would no doubt be like what Uvea is now, with its interior lagoon and islets.

Lifu is about fifty miles in length and twenty-five in breadth. The surface is rocky, with here and there patches of cultivable land, where the natives make their plantations. There are several large caverns throughout the island containing good fresh water on a level with the sea, which rises and falls with the tide. This led me to suppose that water might be found on any part of the island, a supposition that has proved correct. Having tried the experiment near our house, we were rewarded by finding water at the depth of seventy feet (our elevation above the sea) oozing through the sides of the well, and by digging two or three feet below low water mark we have a constant supply of good water. The natives have dug wells at many of the inland villages, and in every case have found water at the level of the sea. As you approach the sea-coast the water becomes brackish. Three or four wells have been sunk by foreigners at different distances from the beach, varying from fifty to five hundred yards; they have found the water differing in degrees of brackishness in proportion to the distance from the sea.

There is no probability that Lifu will ever become of much commercial importance. Colonisation is out of

the question, as there is not an acre of land on the island upon which a plough can be used. The thin coating of soil that covers parts of the rocky surface of the island will supply the natives with an abundance of the natural productions usually found upon coral islands, viz., yams, taro, bananas, cocoanuts, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, &c., so that they need never be in want of food ; but it will not yield sufficient to allow the exportation of native produce to become very great. Cotton appears to be the only foreign plant from which the natives are likely to derive much benefit. The climate is very favourable to its growth, and the natives are beginning to appreciate its value.

Lifu is divided into fifty-five villages, containing an aggregate population of about seven thousand, six thousand of whom are Protestants, the remainder Roman Catholics. The population is, like that of nearly all the islands in the Pacific, on the decrease. This phenomenon of depopulation is observed wherever the European comes into contact with the black. It is not only that their lives, religion, and political institutions are changed, but they become subject to European diseases and epidemics without possessing European remedies ; and they have not the stamina of Europeans to withstand disease.

Their mode of life is very simple and primitive. Each family has its own plot of land, which is hereditary. The bush is cleared by the axe and by fire, the ground dug by a pointed stick. They have now generally an abundance of food, although they say that, in the days of heathenism, it was very scarce. Strictly speaking,

there are no poor people. It is very easy to obtain a house and food, and their wants are, as yet, but few.

The islands in the South Seas have been divided by philologists and ethnologists into two groups—Polynesia and Melanesia—as the natives are supposed to be two distinct races—the Malay and the Negrillo—and to speak dialects of two distinct languages. Lifu belongs to Melanesia, which is the name given to the islands of the south-west Pacific Ocean, including the Loyalty, New Hebrides, Banks' Santa Cruz, and Solomon Archipelagoes, and reaching onwards to the west and north-west, so as to include New Guinea. The dialects spoken by these natives diverge so far from each other that each dialect forms almost a separate study.

It is not so, however, in Polynesia. The Sandwich Islanders, New Zealanders, Tahitians, Rarotongars, Samoans, and the the natives of the Kingsmill Group, in a very short time are able to converse together. A native of any one Polynesian island would almost immediately recognise in the dialect spoken in any other Polynesian island a dialect similar to his own. Yet notwithstanding this affinity in Polynesian dialects, and divergence in the Melanesian, it is supposed by some that both can be traced to one common type.

Bishop Patteson—who was not less distinguished as an accomplished linguist than as a devoted missionary—probably knew more about the languages of the South Sea islanders than any other man. He visited about one hundred of the islands, spent many years amongst the natives, was most assiduous in studying their language,

manners, and customs, and could, I am told, express himself with tolerable accuracy and fluency in about twenty different dialects. He therefore may be considered an authority on the subject; and he says, speaking of the Polynesian and Melanesian languages, that "a comparison of dialects already acquired discovers, indeed, affinities in the vocabularies to some extent, and in the general structure of the dialect to a great extent, and it is quite certain that one type of language prevails throughout the whole Pacific."

With reference to the manners and customs of the natives I may remark that just as all the dialects appear to be parts of a common language, so all the manners and customs and superstitions of the natives may be found to refer to a common system underlying the whole. Cannibalism, war, feasting, and dancing, and polygamy are general. On Lifu the natives were exceedingly fond of human flesh. The chiefs were despotic and ordered their subjects to be clubbed and cooked at their pleasure. I have heard the natives speak of a time of severe famine when those men who had the greatest number of wives and children were considered to have the most food. Famines, no doubt, arose at times from natural causes, but most frequently from desolating wars, when plantations were destroyed. Sometimes the famine-makers were ordered to cause a famine in order that the male population might live for awhile on human flesh. The dead were often exhumed to be cooked and eaten: and sometimes when a native was dying with plenty of flesh on his bones, some of those standing by would be rejoic-

ing at the prospect of a feast, and arranging to steal the body. There seems to have been amongst the Lifuans the most extraordinary propensity for human flesh, and an utter disregard of human life : the latter is still but too evident.

War amongst the heathen is very frequent, but their wars are by no means so serious and fatal as those amongst civilised nations. They are not sufficiently advanced in civilisation yet to understand the art of killing by thousands; with them there is great preparation, great skirmishing, great noise, but few lives are lost. After two or three days, fighting, when hunger urges them back to their homes, it will be found that there are two killed and five wounded on one side, and one killed and three wounded on the other, so the latter are considered victorious. These wars are nearly always about women. I remember the first that took place after my arrival on Lifu. From the report and from a letter hastily written by the French priest I thought that, before I could get to the spot (ten miles off), the combatants would be in the condition of the Kilkenny cats. I soon found, however, that, whatever they might have suffered or lost in the struggle, they had not lost their legs, nor yet the ability to use them. Both armies had decamped, each claiming the victory, four men being left behind severely wounded by tomahawks, two from each side. This is a fair specimen of wars among the natives.

For feasting and dancing, the natives of the South Seas are equal to those of France. Indeed, some of the Lifu Chiefs who have seen European dancing in New

Caledonia told me, upon their return, that they considered their heathen dances much superior, "because," said one, "with us all dance together, whereas with you the majority stand still." "But," I said, "did you not see how graceful the movements of the French were compared with your barbarous jig?" "Oh! no," he said, "that is just what we dislike, you should move quicker and move together if you want a good dance." Thus we see that tastes differ, 'tis not the dancing or feasting that I object to so much as to what follows. In order to give some idea of these feasts and dances, I will relate an account of the last *dress ball* on Lifu, at which I was present by special invitation from the king of half of the island, who was then virtually a heathen although nominally a Roman Catholic. It was a great feast. The singing and dancing were to be the best the island could produce. I went. The parade was about nine miles inland, a beautiful plain about seven hundred yards long and one hundred and fifty broad, covered with grass, and surrounded by a few large shady trees and low bush. When I arrived preparations were being made for the feast; some were dressing and painting for the dance; the singers were away in the bush practising for their performance. I was received kindly by the king, who politely performed the part of a host. He conducted me to his house, gave me some sugar-cane and then led me round the numerous and immense piles of yams, allotting me my portion as his guest.

I took my position under one of the large shady trees. A great number of spectators were present from all

parts of the island, who stood round the parade. The centre was cleared, and all eyes were directed toward the farthest end of the plain. There was a kind of breathless expectation when out rushed two men from the bush and ran toward us with all their might. They had each a spear and looked terribly excited. Their faces were painted black as ebony, and their eyes looked as though they would leap from their sockets. They ran about forty yards, then stopped suddenly and shook their spears at us, and threw grass and dirt into the air in the most defiant manner; they then ran back, but before they got to their places two others rushed out and went through the same gesticulations. This was continued until the company drew near, which during the whole time were slowly approaching. On they came slowly and orderly, each with some food in his or her hand, and singing as they advanced. When they arrived at the centre of the plain, they formed a circle, and continued walking round, circle within circle, until all had come up and were moving round. They then laid the food in a heap and retired. The heralds soon appeared. This body is composed of young, strong, active men who can run and manœuvre well. On this occasion they were conducting a square of natives about ten deep, closely packed. The outside lines of the square were composed of the tallest men, who were not painted nor in any way decorated; they kept so closely together, and moved so slowly as to make it impossible to see their centre. The heralds, as before, ran out by *twos*, calling out the names of their fathers and chiefs. When the square was opposite where we sat

them to stop and listen. I waited until they had assembled. It was a curious congregation. I told them that as their guest I had listened and looked on patiently and now I had something to say to them, and I hoped that they would give me a patient hearing, which they did. They stood, spears and clubs in hand, and listened attentively whilst I preached the gospel to them, speaking of a nobler warfare and a purer enjoyment. But my speech did not appear to make a very deep impression, they returned to their dancing, and before we left the ground they were fighting. I saw one poor fellow carried in rendered senseless by a blow from a club over the eye, and the party who had done it assembled at one end of the playground awaiting his friends to fight. I tried to prevent war and left, having to walk home by torchlight. That was the last heathen feast on Lifu; a number of the natives having embraced Christianity the remainder were never strong enough to get up a similar feast.

II.

SORCERY—CURSING—INDIFFERENCE ABOUT DEATH—MEDICINES—HOUSES—
CANOES—RELIGION—TRADITIONS—THE ORIGIN OF YAMS—LABOUR
AND DEATH—THE FLOOD—THE “IJA” OR SCAFFOLDING—THE ORIGIN
OF NEW CALEDONIA, MARE, AND UVEA—ULAULËTI AND HIS BRETHREN
—GOVERNMENT.

THE natives of Lifu constantly practised sorcery, having a strong belief in its power. The death of a chief, although he had lived a hundred years, was always attributed to the sorcery of some person, and when dead they would stuff his eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth full of leaves from a certain tree, that the person whom they declared had caused his death might die. The person in question, upon hearing that sorcery was being practised upon him, would collect his friends and make war upon the suspected village. They had great faith in and dread of cursing. To be cursed by a parent or chief was regarded as the greatest calamity. It was, in their estimation, certain death, and the person so cursed was regarded as a doomed man. If he did not die for forty years after they would still say that death was the effect of the curse; and yet there was, and, indeed, is still, a remarkable indifference about death. They speak of it and bid each other good-bye as if going on a short journey. Many when sick have their coffins made, that they may examine them before

they die to see if they are properly cut. Their coffins are merely trunks of trees scooped out. Sometimes a native recovers after his coffin is made, upon which he suspends it from the roof of his hut until required. A few years ago there was a man not far from my station who, supposing that he was about to die, had his coffin made, that he might see his future resting-place. The coffin was made and laid beside him, and he pronounced it good. Afterwards, however, he recovered, but instead of suspending it to the roof of his hut he fixed to it an outrigger and used it as a small fishing-canoe.

Their pharmacopœia is very simple. For all ordinary ailments sea-water is the remedy, and of that they drink a prodigious quantity. In order to make them vomit after drinking it, they use the bark of a certain tree. Covering it over with leaves, they tie it up, and with this they lave the water into their mouths until they have swallowed nearly a bucketful (they declare that they can take two bucketsful!). Then like distended leeches they lie or roll on the grass or sand until they vomit, after which they say they are well and feel strong, although it sometimes proves fatal. For all pains and bruises they cut with a piece of a glass bottle. A man with a pain in his head would never suppose that it arose from the state of his stomach. He must cut his head at the very place where he feels the pain. They lance for the most trivial things. About two years ago, a native on the south side of Wide Bay, had a pain in his neck, was applying the usual remedy, cut his throat, and died. If their children get the least knock they must be lanced.

I have known a child to fall, or rather roll off, a board only raised three inches from the ground, on which account the parents felt that they must lance it.

The native houses on Lifu are much superior to those on the New Hebrides Islands. When we arrived they built them very low, without windows, and only one small door. Now, however, they are much higher, neater, and better, having two doors, two windows, and two rooms. They are built by placing posts firmly in the ground about six feet apart; to these the wall-plate is tied, and between these smaller sticks are erected, and to these, again, others about, the thickness of one's finger, are put on horizontally and so close together that they almost touch each other. All are bound by strong native vines. The bark is peeled from all the wood, and even from the vines, and they are fastened together very neatly and with great regularity. Two long, forked posts are placed deeply in the ground, upon which the ridge pole is put and firmly secured by vines: the rafters are then raised, and sticks placed across them as below: the whole is covered with long grass or the leaves of the sugar-cane, put on as country houses are thatched in England. Sometimes on the lower part mats are put between the sticks and the grass. And thus a house is built of which many a European would be glad. The floor is covered, first with plaited cocoanut leaves then with well-made mats; the latter are also used for sheets and blankets. Around the house there is a fence formed of large, high posts standing on their ends, and close together: this is to inclose a space in which they sit round a fire to

talk and eat, preserved from the winds and from observation.

Their canoes are of an inferior kind. The small ones are simply the trunks of trees scooped out and sharpened at both ends, with an outrigger tied on with native cord made from cocoanut fibre. The larger ones have a plank sewn to each end by native cord, whilst the largest are made by attaching two together, laying boards across, and building a small house on the top of all. These are lumbering, dangerous things; being tied together by native string they are neither very secure nor durable: the string rots, and often when out in a high sea the whole thing falls to pieces, leaving the natives to sink or swim. A case of this kind happened not long ago on the coast, when thirteen person were drowned.

As to their religion I think that it has been too generally and too hastily taken for granted that these natives worship idols. It may be found that they are no more worshippers of idols than Roman Catholics. They generally look to some spirit beyond the image or stone before which they bow. On Lifu the natives had no idea of any God or devil, heaven or hell. Their religion or superstitious feelings were in connection with the departed spirits of their fathers, which they believed to be always near them. They thought that when the body died the spirit still continued to roam about Lifu. Their sacred objects were stones, finger and toe nails, human hair, human bones, and human teeth. These were given to them by their fathers before death. Almost every man had his sacred object; each had its

separate charm, and would only answer that purpose. Some were for making yams grow, others taro, others again bananas. Some were for causing rain, others wind, fine weather, according as the donor had indicated. In war they would take these sacred objects with them to render them invulnerable. They believed that the spirits of their fathers were ever near them, and would often call to them for help. They supposed that they visited them in the night, and exhorted them, and told them where they had left things that were lost. Their religion was truly of the earth, earthy.

Many of the Lifuan traditions bear a striking resemblance to the records of sacred history. I will give a few examples. There is one which very much resembles the scripture account of the introduction of sin and death into the world.

The natives have no idea of the *origin* of the first man; they only know that his name was Walelimemë; that he had a wife and sons, and that he lived in peace amidst plenty. At that time there was not any sickness or death, and it was not necessary to work in plantations, because the food grew spontaneously and in abundance. It appears that the sons of old Walelimemë had the power of changing themselves into birds, beasts, and reptiles at pleasure. On one occasion the eldest son, in the form of a rat, went on an exploring expedition, boring his way through the earth until he came to the residence of an old man, the chief of the lower regions. This old chief lived upon yams, of which there were not any at that time on Lifu. The Lifuan observed that the

talk and eat, preserved from the winds and from observation.

Their canoes are of an inferior kind. The small ones are simply the trunks of trees scooped out and sharpened at both ends, with an outrigger tied on with native cord made from cocoanut fibre. The larger ones have a plank sewn to each end by native cord, whilst the largest are made by attaching two together, laying boards across, and building a small house on the top of all. These are lumbering, dangerous things; being tied together by native string they are neither very secure nor durable: the string rots, and often when out in a high sea the whole thing falls to pieces, leaving the natives to sink or swim. A case of this kind happened not long ago on the coast, when thirteen person were drowned.

As to their religion I think that it has been too generally and too hastily taken for granted that these natives worship idols. It may be found that they are no more worshippers of idols than Roman Catholics. They generally look to some spirit beyond the image or stone before which they bow. On Lifu the natives had no idea of any God or devil, heaven or hell. Their religion or superstitious feelings were in connection with the departed spirits of their fathers, which they believed to be always near them. They thought that when the body died the spirit still continued to roam about Lifu. Their sacred objects were stones, finger and toe nails, human hair, human bones, and human teeth. These were given to them by their fathers before death. Almost every man had his sacred object; each had its

separate charm, and would only answer that purpose. Some were for making yams grow, others taro, others again bananas. Some were for causing rain, others wind, fine weather, according as the donor had indicated. In war they would take these sacred objects with them to render them invulnerable. They believed that the spirits of their fathers were ever near them, and would often call to them for help. They supposed that they visited them in the night, and exhorted them, and told them where they had left things that were lost. Their religion was truly of the earth, earthy.

Many of the Lifuan traditions bear a striking resemblance to the records of sacred history. I will give a few examples. There is one which very much resembles the scripture account of the introduction of sin and death into the world.

The natives have no idea of the *origin* of the first man; they only know that his name was Walelimemë; that he had a wife and sons, and that he lived in peace amidst plenty. At that time there was not any sickness or death, and it was not necessary to work in plantations, because the food grew spontaneously and in abundance. It appears that the sons of old Walelimemë had the power of changing themselves into birds, beasts, and reptiles at pleasure. On one occasion the eldest son, in the form of a rat, went on an exploring expedition, boring his way through the earth until he came to the residence of an old man, the chief of the lower regions. This old chief lived upon yams, of which there were not any at that time on Lifu. The Lifuan observed that the

old man kept the yams for himself, and offered him other food; he asked to taste the yams, but was told that they were for the old chief alone, and that to take them would cost him his life. The son of Walelimemē, however, did not believe this, and watching his opportunity picked up a yam, and made for the surface of the earth again. On his way he tasted the yam and found it very good; on his arrival at home, he called one of his brothers and told him all: this brother tasted the yam and expressed his delight at the discovery of such excellent food. They then went to their father, who with the whole family tasted and were all equally pleased at the new discovery. It was then arranged that all the sons should go in a body and steal a quantity of yams from the old chief below and plant them on Lifu, in order that they too might live on this superior food. They did so, but were discovered before they could get away. The old chief was angry with them, and told them that as they had taken his yams, he would henceforth live upon human flesh. Death should reign on Lifu in order to supply him with food. It was then that people began to die, as the Lifuans supposed, to supply the old chief with human flesh in exchange for his yams; and to this day, some of the old men believe that there are more deaths when there is a good yam harvest, the old chief requiring the bodies of men in proportion to the quantity of yams that they obtain. It was then that labour commenced, for having begun planting yams they found it necessary to cultivate every other article of food: nothing would grow spontaneously as before, but

weeds. Thus yams, their principal and much-liked food were introduced, but with them came labour and death. It is not unlikely that the fact (according to tradition) of the old chief living on human flesh may have created a desire in them to taste this food also.

They have a tradition substantially the same as the scripture account of the flood. It is that an old man named Nol (the name resembles Noah) made a canoe inland; the natives laughed at him for making it so far from the sea, declaring that they would not help him to drag it to the coast; but he told them that it would not be necessary, for the sea would come to it. When it was finished the rain fell in torrents and flooded the island, drowning everybody. Nol's canoe was lifted by the waters and borne along by a current; it struck a high rock which was still out of the water, and split it in two. (These two rocks are still pointed out by the natives; they form the heads of a fine bay on the north side of the Island.) The water then rushed into the sea and left Lifu "high and dry." This tradition may have reference to the time when Lifu, after the first lift, was a lagoon island like what the island of Uvea is now. If so, it shows that this island has been inhabited for a very long time.

They also speak of a time when their forefathers assembled at a place near my station to build, or rather erect a scaffolding which should reach to the clouds. They had no idea of works in stone, hence their "tower of Babel" was raised by tying stick to stick with native vines. They laboured on undaunted by the sad conse-

quences of the discovery and stealing of yams underground ; perhaps they anticipated a more agreeable issue to their explorations in the heavens. But alas ! for human expectations ; before the top touched the clouds, the ground-posts became rotten, and the whole affair came down with a crash. Even this catastrophe does not appear to have crushed their spirit of enterprise : they still endeavoured to know something of the "beyond." Another tradition states that a noted old warrior ascended a high rock with a long fishing-line and large hook. He threw out his line to the west and hauled up the island of Uvea, the supposed direction of his line having ever since been the route to that island, and canoes generally start from the point where he is said to have stood, although sometimes they have to go many miles out of their true course to get to it. The old fellow threw his line out to the south and drew up New Caledonia. He then threw out his line again to the east and hauled up Mare. He tried northward, but his line broke ; so that they knew nothing of the existence of the New Hebrides group, until made known to them by foreigners. One mode of cursing was "may your canoe drift to the north where there are no islands !"

They have also a tradition resembling the story of Joseph and his brethren. It is, that an old man had a number of sons, and that he loved the youngest much more than the others, which caused great jealousy, leading them to hate their youngest brother, and ultimately to seek his destruction. They all agreed to make a large

hole in which to cultivate an immense yam : into this the younger brother was tumbled whilst at work, and covered in with soil, and the yam planted on the top of him. When harvest time came they went to dig out this large yam, when, to their astonishment, they found him clinging to the end of it, crying out, "Take care of this yam for my father." They then resolved to drown him ; so they put him into a fishing basket, weighted it, and lowered him down to the bottom of the sea. A month afterwards they went to take up the basket to get the fish, when lo, and behold, he was hanging to the bottom of it crying, "Take care of these fish for my father," so that he, like many things disliked in the world, was allowed to live because he could not be killed.

These traditions had their weight in leading the people to embrace Christianity. When the teachers arrived, they listened to the story of the fall, and said, "Yes, this is no doubt true, it is very much like what our fathers told us. They eat the forbidden yam, and death came among us, and we had all to work to provide food. Noah's ark was Nol's canoe : and the Tower of Babel was the ancient "ija" or scaffolding. The account of the creation was simply the act of their venerable fisherman who drew the islands from the sea. And they saw in the beloved Joseph the petted "Ulaulēti" who could not be destroyed.

As to the government of these people : upon most of the islands in Western Polynesia there appears to be very little government of any kind ; everybody does very

much as he likes. The chiefs are insignificant, and have little power. On Lifu it was different. The whole island was under two great chiefs, and these were despotic, absolutely so: they could order a person to be killed whenever they pleased without assigning any reason. At the introduction of Christianity this was of immense service; for having secured the favour of the king, you were not only safe, but the gospel became popular, and multitudes attended the services who would not have dared to be present, if the king had expressed his disapprobation. In the New Hebrides you may have a chief favourable without gaining any of his subjects; frequently, indeed, his subjects dictate to him the course that he is to adopt. Now, wherever a missionary goes, he endeavours to improve the government of the island. Christianity brings reform. The natives know nothing of good government; they have to be initiated and trained like children. It is therefore perfectly natural that for a while they will go to the missionary in cases of difficulty, so that say what we may, the faithful missionary is really a kind of chief-justice for a time. Hence it has been said that missionaries usurp power, interfere with politics, &c.; why, even if a missionary did act as a kind of king over the natives, is it, I ask, a very great calamity for these poor ignorant natives to be governed by an intelligent, Christian gentleman? Is it a vice or a virtue to interfere with the politics of such a people by giving them advice? No one is more anxious than the Christian missionary to see the natives able to manage their own affairs, and he

is constantly striving to lead them to this. To be "king of the cannibal islands" is a kind of honour which a missionary does not covet; but he does feel it to be his duty to seek in every way to elevate the natives amongst whom he labours; he not only preaches the gospel to them, but tries to improve their laws, their houses, their roads, their canoes, and everything connected with their temporal and spiritual welfare.

From these facts respecting the condition of the inhabitants before the introduction of Christianity, it will appear that whilst there was little to excite the cupidity of a great nation, there was much to move the hearts of Christian people. The barbarous life of the natives, their heartless cruelties, their constant wars, their appalling misery, and their utter ignorance of spiritual things and spiritual hopes, formed a touching appeal to philanthropic men. How that appeal was responded to, and with what success, I will now proceed to relate.

III.

THE STATE OF LIFU WHEN CHRISTIANITY WAS ABOUT TO BE INTRODUCED—
PAO THE APOSTLE OF LIFU—HE LEAVES MARE IN A CANOE FOR LIFU
—"ENEMUS"—BECOMES THE KING'S FRIEND—THE KING'S ENGLISH
"ENEMU"—WHY BULA PROTECTED PAO—PAO AT THE WAR—BULA AND
HIS MINISTERS BECOME "NOMINAL" CHRISTIANS—PAO IN DANGER—
ARRIVAL OF OTHER TEACHERS—FIRST CONVERTS—IMPORTANCE OF
LIFU—STRUGGLE BETWEEN DARKNESS AND LIGHT—PAO'S ESCAPE—
EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE DEPUTATION.

THIRTY years ago, Lifu was as it had been for ages. Its rugged surface, raised about two hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea; the long breakers leaping up its steep, craggy sides; its forests of stately pines, and groves of feathery cocoanut-trees gently swayed by the steady trade-wind; its inhabitants shrouded in heathen darkness, revelling in all the horrors of cannibalism, wallowing in the moral filth of a debasing idolatry, and groaning beneath the atrocities of a cruel despotism;—the hour of her deliverance was at hand. The shrieks of female victims resounding through the cocoanut groves and yam plantations were to give place to the songs of praise. The time wasted in martial exercises and actual combat was to be spent in the acquisition of religious and secular knowledge. Families and tribes constantly at war with each other were to live together in peace, harmony, and love. A mighty reformation was about

to take place ; but, as on the eve of the great reformation which transformed the face of Europe, “ in no direction could be seen the powerful hand that was to be the instrument of God.” There were able and learned men in the field before Luther appeared, men of high position and extraordinary ability. “ Who possessed greater wisdom than Frederick, greater learning than Reuchlin, greater talents than Erasmus, more wit and energy than Hütten, more valour than Sickengen, or were more virtuous than Cronberg?” And yet it was not from Frederick, or Reuchlin, or Erasmus, or Hütten, or Sickengen that the world was to receive such a boon. God’s way is, to effect the greatest results by the smallest means. His distinguished servants are generally selected from the same class whence He took the apostles. The reformer Zwingli emerged from an Alpine shepherd’s hut ; Melancthon, the theologian of the Reformation, from an armourer’s shop ; and Luther from the cottage of a poor miner. The apostle of Lifu was not a European missionary, with all the advantages of education, position, and the means of making presents to the chiefs ; he was not even a regularly educated native teacher from one of our seminaries, but a young, unmarried native of Raratonga, of humble position, who had been several voyages in a whaler, in which he had, doubtless, acquired a good deal of his shrewdness and tact. After his last voyage he began to think seriously about the concerns of his soul, became a member of the church, and offered his services as a pioneer teacher to the heathen. Twelve months had not elapsed

from the time that Pao entered the institution of Raratonga ere he was among the heathen of Western Polynesia. Lifu was the island to which he was appointed, although it was considered advisable for him to spend some time with the teachers on the neighbouring island of Mare, where he was left by his spiritual father—that model missionary—Mr Buzacott, in 1842. Pao, who proved himself to be a man of indomitable perseverance, dauntless courage, strong common sense, and real practical piety, although not a man of much learning, could not remain long at Mare without attempting to prosecute his mission on Lifu. It was not in the mission vessel that he proceeded thither, accompanied by missionaries and formally introduced to the people, while the chiefs were laid under obligation by promises and presents to protect him. He went in a native canoe, accompanied by some of the teachers from Mare, with his Raratongan bible and a few clothes tied in a bundle and stowed away in the end of his small craft, spread his mat sail to a gentle breeze one fine morning, and made for Lifu. What must have been his feelings as he sat in the stern of that little canoe, with his long paddle guiding her as she sped over the crested waves! And when he sighted the island, what peculiar emotions must have struggled in his breast! how he would grasp more firmly the steering paddle, and eagerly watch the island as it appeared to rise inch by inch to view! And as they neared the island, and began to discern the houses or huts, then the natives, and, approaching the reef, saw them assembled on the beach all armed, his feelings may be better imagined

than described. He did not, however, as we missionaries generally do, haul down his sail and paddle about outside the reef, waiting for some canoe to come off to get information; he dashed over it and sailed right on to the beach, and placed himself at once in the hands of the natives.

On Lifu, as on many other islands, it is customary to select from amongst strangers single special friends, with whom they are connected by mutual good offices. These we called *enemu*. An "enemu" feels himself bound to provide food and lodging for his friend when he visits him, and will assist him in any way he can when he needs it; and in return expects the same good treatment when occasion offers. It is a kind of freemasonry amongst the natives. Pao was fortunate enough to be selected by the old king Bula as his "enemu." He thus, at once, had not only his life insured, but became a popular man.

Although, however, the Lifuans were quite willing to receive him as the "enemu" of the king, neither they nor his royal friend were at all disposed to receive him as a religious teacher. He had, however, obtained an *entrance*—a very important step.

Pao soon found that he was not the only foreign "enemu" of the king, and that his brother "enemu" was an Englishman! Although from a Christian land, and a much more intelligent man, he was likely to prove a great hindrance to his work. The Rev. A. W. Murray, in his "Missions in Western Polynesia," writes of this man. "It was the writer's lot to meet this man on his

visit to the island in 1845, and a more appalling and humiliating instance of reckless depravity is hardly on record than this case furnishes. Perhaps the most awful feature was the absence of any proper sense of the fearful condition into which he had sunk. He came on board the *John Williams* among the natives, apparently as destitute of shame as they; and talked with indifference, possibly feigned, of his state and conduct, expressing himself to the effect that the course of life he was leading—that of a savage and *cannibal*—was as good as any other. And this young man—“Cannibal Charley,” as he was called by the traders visiting the island—had had the advantages of a Christian education, and was the son, we believe, of highly respectable parents. What was the end of the wretched man we are not aware.” “Cannibal Charley” had left Lifu before we arrived in ’59. He seemed to have no wish to remain with the natives after they had embraced Christianity. I am told that he died amongst the Fijians. I have heard a good deal about his doings on Lifu.

Pao found a powerful friend in Bula. The polytheism of Lifu readily disposed the old king to add Pao’s God to his list. On Lifu, as at Rome and Athens, there was no scarcity of gods; and that Pao should claim for his the superiority was to old Bula no matter of surprise, for many of his subjects claimed for theirs the like distinction; and, moreover, Pao had nothing to show but his Raratongan bible, which was not, in their estimation, near so much like a god as some of theirs. They listened, however, with profound interest to all that Pao

had to say about the power and love of "Jehova," and came to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to have such a God on their side in their wars, as, according to Pao's account, nobody could withstand Him; they supposed that He could be prevailed upon, like their gods, to pour out His blessings upon them, and His wrath upon their enemies.

Lifu was divided into two districts, each governed by a principal chief or king, under whom were a number of petty chiefs. These two districts were constantly at war with each other, so that an opportunity was soon afforded of testing the power of Pao's God. I have not been able to ascertain whether Pao was forced to accompany them in their wars, there is a strong probability that such was the case; it is a well known fact, however, that he did accompany them in the early stage of the mission, but only in his capacity of Christian teacher. In order to accomplish his object, he not only went with the natives to battle, but also to fish, to plant, and to play. He did not build a neat little house, and there study the language, and inquire about the habits of the people, and get two or three around him to try and make them comprehend the mysteries of the alphabet and the multiplication table. He had no house of his own, he lived with the king and his party; they eat together and slept together; they went to work together and returned to play together; they went to battle together, and went to pray together; and thus Pao had many opportunities of preaching Christ, both with his lips and by his conduct: he was in a posi-

tion to watch his opportunity of saying a "word in season."

Happily, Bula's party were victorious in the first war at which Pao was present, so the old king and his ministers resolved to adopt the new religion, but merely as a means of furthering their wicked ends. Pao and his god were to be kept exclusively for themselves, and used against their enemies; yet they were unwilling to place themselves under any of the restraints required by the gospel; they continued their wars, practised polygamy, and often retired from evening prayer, to another house, to eat human flesh unknown to Pao. Such was the state of affairs when old Bula became blind; this was regarded by the natives as a great calamity. They believed that some person or persons had caused it by their incantations. Their consciences told them that they had played the hypocrite with Pao, and they naturally looked upon this as a punishment from his God; they determined, therefore, to put him to death. Five men were selected to perform the bloody deed, from one of whom I received the story. Pao was mending his canoe on the beach, so they arranged to surround him, enter into a conversation with him, and then, upon a given signal, to tomahawk him. They approached, encircled him, conversed with him, gave the signal, but no hand was raised against him. One of their number has assured me that they felt as if their arms were paralysed. Thus was this diminutive, talkative, energetic teacher preserved to accomplish a noble work on Lifu.

About this time other teachers arrived to assist Pao, but they do not appear to have taken a very active part in the evangelisation of the island; little is heard of them, whilst the name of Pao is a household word in every village on Lifu. The first real converts on Lifu appear to have been a party of Tongans, the fathers of whom, a few generations ago, drifted thither in a canoe. The teachers found little difficulty in conversing with these men in their own language, and doubtless this fact, as well as their common Malayan origin, and probably the news of the introduction of Christianity to the home of their forefathers, led them to cast in their lot with these humble missionaries and pioneers of civilisation. Two of these Tongans became devoted helpers in the pioneer work on Lifu and Uvea, and ultimately three of them were educated and regularly appointed as teachers, one of whom still occupies an important station on Lifu. Some natives from Amelemet, a village near Mu, the residence of the king, joined the little band of Tongans, and thus the nucleus of the present flourishing Lifu mission was formed. Considering the importance of this island in the Loyalty group, from the fact of its being the largest and from its central position, and of its language being spoken by very many of the natives both on Mare and Uvea, also by those along the eastern coast of New Caledonia. It is natural to suppose that there would be a terrible struggle between the "powers of darkness" and the "new light" ere the latter was allowed, peacefully, to "possess the land." Such was the case. A storm was gathering that was to burst over

the devoted Pao and his little company of converts. His royal protector died, and died a heathen and a cannibal, although he was ever solicitous for the safety and welfare of his Raratongan "enemu." A protracted war broke out about Bula's successor, and a ravaging epidemic swept over the island. The teachers were blamed as the cause, and were obliged to escape to Mare. Again Pao was in his canoe, guiding it over the same course that he had taken five years before, no doubt contrasting his feelings now with his emotions then. His hopes had been partially realised; he had been permitted to preach Christ, and to collect a few followers; but these had been scattered, and he had been driven from the island; he hoped, however, that he would soon be able to return and prosecute his work. The following extract from the report of the deputation, Messrs Turner and Nisbet, who visited the island in 1848, shows the critical state in which they found the mission and in which it had been for a length of time.

"The teachers left at Lifu we found at Mare. Owing to a war which scattered the tribes among whom they laboured, they fled to Mare about twelve months ago. Up to the time they left, schools and services on the Sabbath were kept up and attended. They wait at Mare for a favourable issue of the war, when they will return. The blind chief Bula is dead. He died, we fear a heathen: yet he evinced a pleasing concern on his death-bed for the safety and protection of the teachers after his death. There are rival claims for the chieftainship; and these have led to and prolong the war.

“Many of the people, including some of the chiefs of Lifu, were cut off by an epidemic, towards the end of 1846. As it broke out soon after the arrival of new teachers, they were blamed as having brought it. Many were determined to kill them, but some were raised up to defend them. ‘Kill them,’ said their enemies, ‘and there will be an end to the sickness!’ ‘No,’ was the reply, ‘we are dead men if we do; their God will avenge their death.’ ‘Then banish them from the island,’ said they. ‘That will also expose us to the divine judgments,’ their friends replied. ‘Let them alone, they have come among us for good, and not for evil!’ A chief from the Isle of Pines, who was there at the time, was then consulted. ‘Spare the teachers,’ said he; ‘we on our island foolishly killed our teachers, thinking it would remove disease; but after their death their god punished us, and disease and death raged among us more than ever. Spare them, lest it be the same here.’ While this heathen council was being held, the teachers were assembled in their own house, spending the day in prayer and preparation for their end. They thought that day was to be their last. They cast themselves on the arms of Him who has said, ‘Lo I am with you alway;’ and He delivered them from death. The chiefs Bula and Ngazohni were on this occasion mainly instrumental in saving them. But soon after this Bula died; and then again they were in great peril. It is a custom, on the death of a chief, to impute his death to human agency; and on these occasions the friends, like so many avengers of blood, are up in arms, and rest not until they have

spread desolation and death somewhere in the land. Malice at such times is at work, pointing out some parties as having caused the death through their incantations. When Bula died the cry was again raised, 'Kill the teachers!' Ngazohni was firm on their side, and told the people that they must kill him first. Some talked of killing him to get at the teachers; another party, however, was blamed, and revenge sought that night in the blood of a family of eight individuals in another part of the island."

IV.

CIVIL WAR—PAO RETURNS TO LIFU—SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL—THE TEACHERS REQUESTED TO RETURN—THEIR RECEPTION—THEIR WORK—PAO A MODEL TEACHER—INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL TO WET—AN INFLUENTIAL PRIEST EMBRACES CHRISTIANITY—PAO VISITS WET—HIS VISIT TO THE KING—HANEKA BECOMES A CENTRE OF LIGHT AND INFLUENCE—CHURCH BUILDING—EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF THE DEPUTATION—THE TIME FOR MISSIONARIES TO STEP IN—THE OPENING OF THE NEW CHURCH—WANT OF TEACHERS—MAL-TREATMENT OF PAO BY THE HEATHEN—ARRIVAL OF TEACHERS—PAO SETTLES AT WET.

THE gospel seed had been sown on Lifu, and had taken root in the heart of a few, among whom were men of considerable influence. But the plant was young and tender. And the strife and contention that followed the death of Bula was a very ungenial soil for its growth; it is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that it drooped before the withering blast of war. Ngazohni, the staunch friend of the teachers (although still a savage and a cannibal), charged two of the old heathen priests with having caused the death of Bula for protecting the teachers, and proclaimed war against them and all their associates. The extensive connections of these priests, as well as those of Ngazohni, embroiled the whole of Lösi (the eastern half of the island) in a civil war. The contest was more protracted than sanguinary, and ended in the defeat and escape of the aggressors. Ngazohni, with the two young sons of Bula who were his successors

to the cheftainship, fled to Gaica, a village in Wide Bay opposite Chepenche; and the land had rest. No person was appointed to succeed Bula, as all regarded his sons as the rightful successors.

During the war, Pao and some of the teachers, accompanied by a few influential natives from Mare, visited Lifu. They were received by the people generally with marked displeasure, by the majority with hostile demonstrations, and owed their safety, no doubt, to the influence of their Mare friends. By a few, however, they were welcomed with joy: these were their Tongan friends, and a few of the Amelewet people. The natives of this village had taken an active part in the recent war, and regarded the defeat of the king's party as a judgment upon them for their hypocrisy; and this view of the case became prevalent. The strong party feeling that prevailed, led the teachers to decide to return to Mare for a time, as their presence might lead to further hostilities. They, therefore, put to sea again and reached that island in safety.

Never does the faithful labourer sow in vain the gospel seed; *he* may not be permitted to see the fruit of his toil, but that there will be fruit he need never for a moment doubt. The seed may lie dormant under the repressing influence of a dreary winter, but the vitality is there, and the coming spring will develop the hidden life. Our work is, to surround the walls of idolatry, and blow the gospel trumpet before these hoary systems of iniquity. God will do the rest. Pao's trumpet had given no uncertain sound on Lifu; the blasts had been

long and loud, and had echoed through every village on the island ; now he was to retire till God threw down the walls that stood between him and his work. The change that took place in the minds of Pao's enemies was remarkable alike in its suddenness and completeness. They felt the truth of what he had said about their desolating wars ; they heard with interest the glowing account of the transformation effected on Mare by the gospel ; they were losing confidence in their gods, and becoming more and more afraid of "Jehova." And the little band that Pao had left behind were zealous in disseminating as much of the truth as they knew ; so that, a few months after the teachers left Lifu, messengers arrived at Mare, earnestly begging them to return, and assuring them that those who had formerly been their enemies were ready to receive them with open arms. We may conceive how Pao's spirit was stirred within him when he received this news. He was too impulsive to brook delay, and had few preparations to make. His canoe was soon launched, his mat sail again unfurled, and the little fleet were flying before a trade wind toward the scene of his labours. There were unmistakable demonstrations of joy when they landed on the beach. The native mode of expressing gratitude is by presenting food, and of this the teachers received a prodigious quantity. They found that the wall had, indeed, fallen down flat, and that all they had to do was to go straight before them and take the city. They consequently threw themselves into their work with an ardour and heartiness befitting the circumstances.

Temporary buildings were erected in which regular services were conducted, and these were numerous attended. Schools were also established; and very soon some of the natives, to the astonishment of their friends, could name any letter in Pao's Bible. Many from distant villages came to see and hear for themselves, and returned converts to the new religion, with the alphabet written on a piece of paper and pasted on a board, a treasure of which they were unmistakably proud. Pao was, what all pioneer teachers and missionaries should be, more like a *blazing comet* than a *fixed star*. He passed from village to village, in the early stage of the mission, with astonishing rapidity and frequency, preaching Christ and burning and breaking the gods of his followers. The heathen would stand by on these occasions, expecting, like the natives of Melita, to see him fall down dead, and the result led them to doubt the power of their gods.

The time had now arrived for the gospel to be preached on the western side of the island, the Wet district, over which Ukenezo was king. I have already remarked that these two districts were constantly at war with each other; their gods were respectively invoked to destroy one another; and this state of perpetual enmity was, as it is on most islands, a very serious obstacle to the spread of Christianity. Ukenezo was by no means disposed to embrace the religion of his great enemy Bula, although many of his subjects were. He, too, had heard of the "power of Jehova;" and, like many others, seemed far more impressed by this attribute than by

the tale of His love in the gift of His Son. They felt that the latter might be mythical, but that there was no mistaking the former : they considered that they had had indisputable evidence of the superiority of Pao's God over any they possessed. But then He was the God of their enemies. Had Pao landed on their side of the island he would doubtless have been received by Ukenezo as he had been by Bula ; but, coming as the friend and teacher of his enemies, he not only looked upon him as one of them, but as the chief cause of his defeat in their late wars ; and declared that he would club and cook him whenever he got the opportunity.

One of the most influential of the heathen priests, or *sacred men*, in the Wet district received a message from a brother priest in the Lösi district informing him that they were all going to embrace the new religion, and urging him to adopt the same course. This priest, who had already heard much in favour of Christianity, declared his readiness to receive the teacher and place himself under his instruction. He was the first in the Wet district who became a Christian ; he is now the oldest man on the island, and has for many years been a faithful deacon of one of the churches. Pao now made known his intention to visit the other half of the island ; many spoke strongly against his doing so lest he should be killed by their enemies ; others who began to comprehend better the design of the gospel were anxious that the Wet people should embrace it, and thus end their wars ; all, however, agreed that if he went he should be well escorted. In vain did Pao assure

them that his God would protect him as He had done before ; they seemed to think that neither he nor his God knew the character of their enemies half so well as they did. The result was that a number of them armed accompanied Pao to the village of the heathen priest to whom I have referred. Haneka heard all they had to say, declared himself a Christian, and delivered up his gods to Pao. He then accompanied them to the king, who hearing of their approach, and fearing an attack, had two parties placed in ambush near his residence for his protection. Although no disturbance took place, the interview was too martial and Mohammedan-like to be productive of much real good. The king declared himself satisfied with the gods of his fathers, and openly avowed his intention to live and die a heathen. Pao returned to prosecute his work amongst the villages of Lösi, leaving Haneka as a centre of light and influence in Wet. The former was certainly not very great, still, it was bright. He had heard the simple story of Christ's love ; how we may be saved from sin and misery, and obtain eternal life, and this information he was anxious to communicate to his friends. He had an energetic, influential son about thirty years of age, who became a means of communication between his father and the teacher. This man was most indefatigable ; he seems, by his frequent intercourse with Pao, to have imbibed his spirit. He became really the evangelist of Wet, carrying Pao's messages from village to village, and running off to him with every hard question or case of difficulty. Numbers flocked to old Haneka at his home to learn

about the new religion; and wherever his son Tubaisi went they gathered around him to hear, and became converts. Soon Pao had adherents in almost every village in Wet. He felt that the time had arrived to erect more substantial buildings. So preparations were made for the construction of a substantial church at the first-formed and principal station, Amelewet. All the converts, from every part of the island, willingly assisted to erect a "house for their God," each man bringing stones according to the number of his family. I have often heard them talk and laugh about those "times of ignorance." It is unnecessary to refer to the usual surprise of natives when they are first introduced to the mysteries of the lime-pit, carpenter's shop, &c. An extract from the report of the Reverends A. W. Murray and J. P. Sunderland, who visited the island during the erection of this church, will show in what state they found things at that period of the mission's history, 1852:—

"At this island we found the most cheering indications that this for so many years unproductive field has at length begun to yield its increase. The external appearance of the natives was proof sufficient that a great change had taken place. But other and more decisive evidence soon met us. A large substantial stone building, 100 feet long by 40 feet wide, was the most prominent object at the mission station. It would not be easy to describe the feelings of grateful surprise with which we surveyed this interesting object. The walls are about nine or ten feet high, and three feet thick. It has a good pulpit and reading-desk, doors,

and venetian windows, and it is being furnished with seats. It had been only four months in hand at the time of our visit. Probably in another month it will be completed. The boards which have been used about it were sawn by the natives on the island of Mare, which is fully thirty miles distant, and brought from thence in canoes. A foreigner who resides on the island kindly lent them a pit saw, but would not have it brought to Lifu. There are only two teachers on the island, the one a Raratongan, the other a Samoan; so that the great body of the work has been done by the natives. The dwelling-house of the teachers is quite in keeping with the chapel. It is a comfortable plastered house, enclosed, and having a neat gate and gravel walk in front, which gives it quite a civilised appearance. When the group to which this island belongs was last visited, it had been abandoned on account of the war which had broken out. It is only about two years since the teachers returned; and during that short space the change which has taken place has been effected. The great body of the people have embraced Christianity. Heathenism, including war, cannibalism &c., has been abandoned. Polygamy, one of the most difficult things to get a people to abandon, has been in many cases discontinued. Probably as many as 150 have abandoned this evil. There is a select class, which numbers 300, the members of which are pledged to outward conformity to the requirements of Christianity. The teachers say that the large chapel is filled every Sabbath. It is quite likely that there is a congregation of 600 or 700. The people

are rapidly availing themselves of what few facilities they possess for learning to read; a number can read fluently, and multitudes are learning. The teachers are obliged to employ some of the most advanced in teaching their countrymen, and even in conducting religious services. The desires of the people for teachers and missionaries are so great that it is quite painful to hear them expressed while one has not the means of meeting them. When an intelligent young chief was making inquiries as to the probability of their soon getting a missionary, it was replied that they would get one some day. 'Say not *some day*!' he replied; 'I do not like to hear that word *some day*! Why not say *to-day*? Why not one of you stay?'

This was unquestionably the period when missionaries should have stepped in to carry on the glorious work so successfully commenced by the indefatigable Pao. Native teachers, although the best pioneers, are not competent to lead their converts beyond a certain point, simply because they themselves are generally but very imperfectly educated. Having arrived at that point, unless the missionary steps in to carry on the work, there is frequently a marked retrogression. False moves are made which excite jealousy and hostility amongst the chiefs. Selfishness and covetousness are, unhappily, too often distinguishing characteristics among our teachers, and these become painfully and dangerously manifest upon the arrival and settlement of foreigners at their stations. The presence of a judicious missionary prevents the former, and checks the latter;

the teachers are kept at their proper places and legitimate work, and always apply to the missionary in cases of difficulty. I have referred to a strong party-feeling that existed in Lifu, and which increased as the gospel spread ; this might have been allayed by the conciliatory course which a missionary would doubtless have adopted, whereas it was fanned by the imprudence of the teachers and their converts, grew into a settled and determined hostility, and ended in one party sending for priests to oppose the other.

The completion of Pao's coral church was the signal for a great feast; his adherents collected yams, pigs, fish, bananas, &c., in abundance, and with a willing heart. The day for the opening was fixed, and thousands assembled from every part of the island. The Christians made what show they could with the few articles of clothing which they possessed, and the heathen came decorated and painted in their uniform. The church was the object of general admiration. It is now occupied by my colleague, the Rev. J. Sleight, and is still in good condition. The natives were amazed to see pieces of coral piled one upon another, and held together like a solid block ; and their wonder only increased when they were told that they were held together by the *ashes* of burnt coral mixed with sand and water. At the opening of this church a very good impression was made upon the heathen in favour of Christianity. In their speeches the natives dwelt upon the folly of their former customs, and the temporal and spiritual advantages connected with the new religion, and urged their friends

to join them. The result was that many renounced idolatry, brought their gods to Pao, and placed themselves under his instruction. The work was now becoming too great for Pao; there were converts in almost every village throughout the island, all of whom desired to be taught. His fellow teacher with whom he landed had apostatised, and was removed by the deputation, who promised to send help as soon as possible. Pao, in the meantime, made the best use of the material which he had at his disposal. He selected the most suitable amongst the converts, and sent them about the island as evangelists, he remaining at the principal station to instruct those around him, and superintend the whole mission, making occasional tours round the island. On these journeys he was sometimes roughly handled by the heathen who opposed the gospel. He has been cuffed about and kicked, and had his clothes torn from his back. At my own station the natives waylaid him by a large cavern, into which they had arranged to throw him; but when he approached and began shaking hands with them, no one had the courage to carry out their plan. This mal-treatment of Pao led the Christian party to determine that he should be escorted in his journeys; and although the good man remonstrated, they persisted. The heathen party were at that time more numerous than Pao's converts; but they were divided, and, moreover, afraid of the famed God of the new religion. Ukenezo and his satellites continued to oppose the gospel as the religion of his enemies, and threatened any of his subjects who should embrace it. Notwith-

standing this threat, however, the natives of the Wet district, in great numbers, joined the Christian party.

The mission was reinforced about this time by a few Samoan and Raratongan teachers. New stations were formed, and more attention given to the important work of public instruction. It now became a question with Pao where to settle : all wanted him, and the natives of the two districts were very near coming to blows on the subject. He settled the question by building his house on an open copse near the sea-coast which divided the two districts, and which, from time immemorial, had been used as a battle-field where both parties met. No cocoa-nut-tree, nor indeed food of any kind, was ever allowed to grow there : it was, in fact, a regular "Aceldama." The idea of establishing a village at We was quite amusing to the heathen party ; even Pao's followers looked upon the undertaking as a hopeless one, and endeavoured to dissuade him from it. Soon, however, a neat little cottage stood by the roadside on that dreary plain. So extraordinary a phenomenon was the subject of general conversation and astonishment, and there were few who believed that it would be allowed to remain. It certainly did not remain *alone* very long. Natives from the extremity of both districts gathered around Pao ; houses were erected, groves of cocoanut-trees planted, and ere long it became the talk of the island that bananas were to be seen growing on the roadside at We, and even bunches of ripe ones were allowed to remain on the trees. It was customary on Lifu for chiefs to plunder at pleasure the plantations of their subjects, and grant to their

guests the same privilege : this led the natives to keep the whereabouts of their gardens as secret as possible. Hence their surprise to see ripe bananas on the roadside ; they had not seen anything like it before, and it was to them a palpable telling fact in favour of Christianity. We soon became a populous, flourishing village. The ancient battle-field was turned into gardens ; a lath and plaster church was erected in its centre, and thus a pleasing illustration afforded of the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy—" They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks : nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." " The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them ; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

V.

INFLUENCE OF THE GOSPEL UPON THEIR MODE OF LIFE—WAINYA AND HIS PEOPLE JOIN THE CHRISTIAN PARTY—THE HEATHEN IN COUNCIL—THE HEATHEN ORATOR SILENCED—EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF DEPUTATION—WANT OF MISSIONARIES—MISSION OF THE CHURCH—BISHOPS SELWYN AND PATTESON—ARRIVAL OF ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS—TEACHERS' FEARS AT THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRIESTS—MOTIVES WHICH LEAD THE ISLANDERS TO EMBRACE THE GOSPEL—UKENEZO ASSEMBLES THE CHIEFS—EFFORTS OF THE PRIESTS TO PROSELYTISE—PRIEST SETTLES AT GAICA.

CHRISTIANITY on Lifu was no longer an empty form, it now became a distinguished reformer. Bula had received the teachers, hoping that their God would assist him in his wars; now he found that the new religion had not so much to do with his enemies as with himself and his people; that its object was to save, not to destroy; so they yielded themselves to its benign influence, and became noted for their self-denial. It is a significant fact that the word for religion in the Lifu language means literally *self-denial*. The natives no doubt felt that to give up their wars, cannibal feasts, and especially their wives, and conform themselves to the requirements of the gospel, required the active exercise of this virtue. The stations at which the teachers were located soon began to assume the appearance of quiet Christian villages. Traders calling, found that they could not any

longer obtain pigs and sandal-wood for beads and pieces of hoop-iron; clothing and other useful articles were called for, and in this case the demand created the supply.

The Christians were now to receive a very important addition to their number. The young chief at Chepenêhe, Wide Bay (the station which I have occupied for fourteen years), was the most influential in the Wet district. He was next to the King Ukenezo, and was married to his sister. The king was very anxious that the young chief Wainya should remain a heathen, and assist him in opposing the gospel, for he saw in the spread of Christianity the death of despotism. Wainya had, from respect to his superior, professed attachment to the gods of their fathers whilst most of his subjects embraced Christianity; he now, however, publicly declared himself a believer in Christ and a follower of Pao, and sent a messenger to the king informing him of the step which he had taken, and urging him to do likewise. Ukenezo was enraged against Wainya for having joined those whom he regarded as his enemies, and threatened to depose him. All his subjects, however, who had embraced the gospel, rallied round Wainya, and declared that if he was attacked by the heathen they would defend him. Ukenezo and the heathen party were now a decided minority, and they felt that to attack Wainya would only be disastrous to themselves. A general consultation took place. Some advised joining the Christians, but Ukenezo sternly opposed this, and in a spirited speech denounced Pao and his converts, also the new religion

which robbed them of their wives, and feasts, and plunder, imposing a mode of life which he declared to be utterly repugnant to his feelings. He considered that to embrace Christianity would be receiving his faith from his subjects, whereas they, in his opinion, ought to get theirs from him ; and this he determined they should do if possible. He reminded them of what they had heard about the Roman Catholic priests on New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines, how that those who opposed them were generally punished by the soldiers, and he thought that they would gladly take up a case like theirs ; it was therefore resolved to send for the priests, who, they hoped, would get soldiers to punish the Wet natives for having embraced the gospel against the will of the king. Of this resolution they have bitterly repented a thousand times when it was too late. One of the old heathen orators, who made himself conspicuous at this gathering, and afterwards went about the island using all the powers of his eloquence to oppose the gospel, was suddenly silenced by an ulcer growing upon his *tongue*, the offending member. This circumstance, as may readily be supposed, produced a wonderful effect upon the natives in favour of the gospel. No one doubted that it was a judgment upon him, and many embraced Christianity in consequence.

An extract from the report of the deputation that visited Lifu about the time of which I am writing may be interesting. Their visit was in June, 1857—two years before my arrival. They reported as follows :—

“ We reached this island on the 26th June. We

stood in for Amelewet, the station of Tui and Kakorua. The house of Kakorua stands on the opposite side of the bay to that on which Tui resides, at a place called Mu. But the people of Amelewet and Mu assemble in the same chapel. Kakorua had gone to another station; but Tui and Isaaka, of Thubenata, came off to the vessel in a canoe; and we were glad to learn that the mission continued to progress. The vessel stood off and on whilst we went ashore with the teachers' supplies. As we approached the shore, we saw the natives in great numbers coming along the beach towards Tui's house; most of them were more or less clothed, and they were delighted to see us. After the teachers' supplies were put ashore, we had a meeting with the people, in a large stone chapel at Amelewet. The chapel is 114 feet by 38; and the walls are three feet thick. The chapel is all seated, and has a respectable pulpit and reading desk, and holds a thousand people; it is filled every sabbath. As the people could not all be informed of our meeting, only two-thirds of the chapel were occupied. We spoke to the people in the Samoan language, which Tui interpreted. We encouraged them to hope for missionaries. In doing so, did we do right?

“Isaaka, who came from Thubenata to meet us at this station, has only been a month on the island. His place is some miles distant from Amelewet; and a chapel is there in course of building. The services are at present well attended, in a large house where the chiefs hold their assemblies. We had here an interview with the principal chief of half of the island. He and

his friends pressed us very hard for missionaries. The people here are in a delightful state. What a pity we had no missionaries for them! Amelewet would make a good missionary station.

“After bidding the people farewell, we returned to the vessel, impressed with a deep sense of the responsibility under which the directors of the London Missionary Society have brought themselves to supply their spiritual wants. On Saturday morning, the 27th, we reached the great bay on the south side of the island, the south point of which is called Gaicha, and the north point Ngara. We came to anchor on the north side of the bay, near Chepenehe, the place where the teacher Apolo resides. Wainya, the chief of the place, and Apolo were soon on board. Wainya is a fine-looking young man, and he speaks a little English. ‘Me want missionary’ was one of his first sentences. He was very respectably dressed, and he conducted himself in a very gentlemanly manner.

“The information communicated to us by Apolo was of a nature no less encouraging than that communicated by Tui, the teacher of Amelewet. Nearly the whole of the population have turned from heathenism, and greatly desire missionaries. We arranged with Apolo to have the ordinance of the Lord’s supper ashore on the following Sabbath, and he engaged to inform the other teachers.

“On Sabbath morning, the 28th, we all went ashore, accompanied by the captain and the first officer of the *John Williams* and as many of the ship’s company

as could leave the vessel, and the Mare and Raratongan teachers. We were welcomed on shore by a large crowd of natives who were waiting to receive us. Men, women, and children crowded around us, that they might welcome us with a cordial shake of the hand. This process was gone through all the way up to the teachers' house, which stands on an eminence near the chapel, commanding a beautiful view of the large bay. After our arrival at the teachers' house the native bell was rung to summon the people to the house of God. Thither we proceeded and found a large congregation assembled. The chapel is large, and, if crowded, will hold a thousand people. There were about 700 inside, and their might have been another hundred crowded around the doors and windows outside; many of these belonged to the few remaining heathen. Tui preached in the native language from John i, 6, 7. The congregation listened with intense interest to his sermon, and at its close they sung with all their might, in their native tongue, to the praise of Him who died to redeem a lost world. The melody was well fitted to make angels weep for joy. At the close of the service, Mr Harbutt baptised the wife of Apolo, and a child of another of the teachers. The former was not a member of the church when she left Samoa, and that day for the first time she sat down at the table of the Lord. We conversed with her and were satisfied with her conversation. She was also well recommended by all the teachers on the island. After the ordinance of baptism was administered, there assembled around the table of the Lord members of the

family of Christ belonging to eight different nations, namely, Britain, Sweden, Samoa, Mare, Savage Island, Raraitonga, Tonga, and Aneiteum. Addresses were delivered to the communicants in English, Samoan, and Aneiteumese. The Lifu congregation looked on with wondering interest. No church has yet been formed among the natives, but the meaning of the service was explained to them by one of the teachers. After the service was over we dined at the teachers' house, and then returned to the *John Williams*, where Mr Inglis preached in the evening from Psalm cxxxii. This closed the public services of one of the most delightful Sabbaths we ever spent on earth. But ours was not unmixed joy, for it was sad to think that the *John Williams* had come to visit a people so desirous to have missionaries to put the word of God into their hands, and to tell them more about Jesus, and not one to leave with them!

“On Monday morning, the teachers came on board. We filled the jolly boat with their supplies from England, Samoa, and the Hervey Islands, and then went ashore with them, whilst Captain Williams surveyed the large beautiful bay. We had notice given us that the people at Wet, belonging to the chief Ukenezō, on the other side of the island, where Sepetaio is stationed, and also the people at Apolo's station, were going to bring a present of yams for the vessel, so we were not surprised to see a large assembly on the beach ready to receive us and welcome us ashore. Shortly after we reached the teachers' house the people of Wet approached, walking in regular procession, and each carrying a yam or fish.

They marched first in single file, and formed a circle round the teachers' band, lessening the interior space as they gathered in, until they were four or five men deep ; they laid down their yams and fish in order, which made a large heap. They then retired and made room for the approach of the people of Chepenehe where we were. These came with their fish and yams in the same regular order, and laid them down in another great heap. They made no speech, as is the custom on such an occasion in Samoa, but quietly retired, and sat down a short distance off. Mr Harbutt addressed them in the Samoan language ; his address was interpreted by Apolo, and the people listened to it with great interest. We pledged ourselves to do all we could to get them a missionary and a printer, to translate and print for them the word of God, that they might read in their own language those great truths the teachers have been telling them for the last ten years. There were present, we thought, no less than a thousand people, among whom were some of the remaining heathen. The latter are very easily known from the Christian population.

“The teachers say that the people are very kind to them, giving them food in abundance, of which there is no scarcity on the island, and helping them to build their dwelling houses and chapels. When we arrived the teachers were living at six stations, at some of these there were two teachers ; but they all agreed to live for the future each at a separate station, and as there are nine teachers on the island, there will be henceforth nine separate stations, which will occupy fully the whole

island. They had not taken a census of the population, but they say the inhabitants are much more numerous than they are on Mare. What is wanted for Lifu now is missionaries and a printing press. The teachers candidly say they can make no further progress until they get the word of God to put into the hands of the people; and this they never can get till missionaries come and dwell among them, master the language, and translate it into the Lifu tongue. When that day will come is known only to Him who knows the end from the beginning. But the responsibility which rests upon those who sent them teachers to send them missionaries is very great. It was delightful to witness the conduct of the people on the Sabbath. Not one of them, either Christian or heathen, visited the vessel on that day. This people used formerly to worship the nail of a man's toe, or a finger nail, or a tuft of human hair put into a basket, and also stones of a peculiar shape; and so fond were they of eating human flesh, that they would go at night and steal a corpse from its last resting-place, and cook and eat it. How great the change through which they have passed! War has ceased on the island, and cannibalism is seldom heard of. A few years ago they all went in a state of nudity; now there are very few who do not wear some kind of clothing, and many of them are very respectably dressed. Let us hope the printing press will be at work here before long."

It will be seen from the above extract that the deputation found the natives of Lifu in that interesting state in which I have described them, and that the

mission had reached a stage when to leave it longer without a more effective agency was to expose it to imminent peril. Had missionaries arrived, even at this period, Ukenezo and his party might have been conciliated, and the establishment and spread of Popery on the island rendered improbable, if not a hopeless task. The Directors of the London Missionary Society, however, can only apportion to the best of their judgment the resources placed at their disposal by the churches; and that, no doubt, they conscientiously do. It is the Church of Christ that is responsible; to it our Lord has committed the conversion of the world, and eminently qualified it to accomplish its mission. It is not that there is a lack of wealth, time, talents, or opportunities; these the church possesses in a high degree. It is the disposition to use them in the cause of Christ that is wanting. Yet notwithstanding the suitable men and means at the disposal of the church, not only are multitudes left to groan beneath the most debasing idolatry, cruelty, poverty, and ignorance; but fields white unto harvest are left exposed without a reaper. The natives of Lifu had, for years, been led by the different deputations that visited the island, to expect missionaries; they had now been disappointed so often that they began to be discouraged, and to feel as if they were being deceived or trifled with.

Those indefatigable, and truly apostolic missionaries, Bishops Selwyn and Patteson, called annually at the western side of Lifu, treating the natives with their accustomed kindness, taking some to New Zealand for

instruction, and on two occasions Bishop Patteson spent the winter months with his native schoolboys on Lifu, New Zealand being too cold. He translated the Gospel of Mark into the Lifu dialect, and had a few copies printed in New Zealand, which he distributed amongst the natives. These visits only led the natives to be the more anxious to have missionaries of their own. They would gladly have kept the bishop amongst them, but he had too much of the real missionary spirit to allow him to *settle* on any island. He rendered good service to the Lifu mission, being here when the priests arrived; he gave the natives suitable advice, and doubtless prevented much evil.

After the heathen council to which I have referred, it was arranged that the uncle of Ukenezo should go to the Isle of Pines to endeavour to obtain a Roman Catholic priest for Lifu. They were led to abandon this plan, however, by the arrival of a letter from Uvea, in which the chief, Pasil, urged Ukenezo to embrace the "religion of the French priests," as he had done. Neither Ukenezo nor any of his party could read, so the letter was taken to one of our teachers to be read to them. A messenger was sent to Uvea to tell Pasil that they were quite ready to receive the priests; and shortly after this he arrived in a Government vessel with two priests for Lifu.

The arrival of this vessel created, in the minds of Pao and his colleagues, considerable fear and anxiety. They had heard of the doings of the French at Tahiti, and shuddered at the thought of their taking Lifu. They regarded the priests and the government as one, the

former being pioneers of the latter; and certainly the proceedings of the authorities at Tahiti, and also at New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines, would naturally lead them to this conclusion. Ukenezo and his party hastened from their village (ten miles inland) to welcome the priests. A temporary dwelling was very soon erected, around the interior of which the reverend gentlemen exposed their pictures, images, medals and crosses. The natives gazed in astonishment and admiration, regarding them as the charms by which their enemies were to be destroyed.

To suppose that the natives of the South Sea islands, when they first receive teachers or missionaries, do so from a *religious* feeling is, I am persuaded, quite a mistake. They are generally actuated by inferior motives in professing their willingness to receive and protect the messengers of the cross. It is not their religion that they want so much as their fish-hooks, knives, tomahawks, &c.; and the enemies of the tribe with whom the teacher lives will often (as at Lifu) receive teachers of a different persuasion, and the greater the difference the better. What can be expected from barbarous tribes that are constantly at war with each other, and accustomed to invoke their gods to destroy their enemies! Let the Christian teacher once get a footing among them; then, if he be faithful, the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation, will soon enlighten their understandings, and lead them to follow its precepts from very different motives from those which led them to embrace it.

A few days after the arrival of the priests, Ukenezo assembled all the chiefs in his district, showed them the box of goods which the priests had given to him, and told them that if they *pi mele* (loved life) they had better embrace his religion and share the property, assuring them that further disobedience on this point would now be attended with the most fatal consequences. Wainya rose and spoke for the chiefs who had received the teachers. He said that they had already a religion, whose power they had seen, and whose precepts they were beginning to comprehend and follow; they did not want the *hmi isi* (fighting religion) of the priests, of which they had heard so much from New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines; they were not afraid of the priests, nor of the soldiers whom they might bring; they were prepared and determined to stand by the teachers and wait for their missionaries, and, if need be, *xome akôte* (endure suffering) on account of their faith. Many of the heathen stood aloof, having no desire to join one party, and afraid to join the other; they saw that a contest was contemplated, and desired to remain neutral for a time.

The priests did not leave the work of proselytising to Ukenezo. Every effort was made to win over Wainya and the people of Chepenehe; first by bribes, which the natives compared with the bait on a fish-hook; then by threats of a man-of-war (a favourite threat of the priests after my arrival), which were weakened by Wainya going on board the next French vessel that arrived and being kindly treated; then by annoyances. The priest

got a house built at Chepenehe close to the church, although he had not a single convert at that village, and during the hour of service kept natives beating his gong. But all was of no avail ; to this day there is not a single native of Chepenehe professing Roman Catholicism, although the long threatened man-of-war has been there with troops, and notwithstanding all that the poor people have suffered.

On the opposite side of the bay they were more successful. The Gaica tribe had shown a most determined opposition to the Gospel ; they had frequently maltreated Pao, and the chief had banished from his district those of his subjects who had embraced Christianity. He, however, had recently died, and the natives naturally considered his death as a judgment. His son and successor was only a boy about nine or ten years of age, so the lad's mother became regent, allowed one of the priests to settle near her house, and ultimately, with her son, professed the Roman Catholic faith, in which she died. Many of the Gaica natives followed their chief, but most of them joined the Protestants.

The priests were now both established, one in the Wet district and the other at Gaica. They knew that the natives feared the French and that their lives were not in much danger ; so the poor people were subjected to all kinds of bribery, stratagems, threats, and annoyances ; and unhappily they had not yet the promised English missionaries to direct and protect them. Many of Pao's converts, from family and political considerations, became Roman Catholics. Both our teachers and people were

becoming disheartened ; they had long asked for and expected missionaries to carry on the work so successfully begun ; and every visit of the *John Williams* increased their disappointment, and weakened their faith in the veracity of missionaries. They were not destined to be disappointed much longer, however. Urgent appeals from the Samoan mission led the directors to request us to proceed at once to Lifu, although we were preparing for another field of labour. So that whilst Ukenezo was welcoming the priests to his native land, we were arranging to leave ours ; and whilst the Christian party were sad and dispirited at their arrival, our friends were in grief at our departure. It is true that the priests were a year before us in *person*, but as they are centuries behind us in *principle*, we had not much to fear. Let truth and error struggle together : the former must prevail.

VI.

HOME IDEAS OF MISSIONARY LIFE—LAST NIGHT IN LONDON—ON BOARD—
TAHITI—SAMOA—NEW HEBRIDES—ERROMANGA—LOYALTY GROUP—
RETURN OF THE FOUR KIDNAPPED NATIVES—OUR HOME—TRUE AND
FALSE MERIT—BARTER—LANGUAGE—MANUAL LABOUR—MEDICINE
CHEST—WHAT A MISSIONARY MUST BE.

BEFORE we left home, my ideas of missionary life were, what I suppose most people's are, rather vague and sentimental. I saw the missionary and his wife standing on the deck of the vessel that was bearing them from their native land, their home, and their friends, and, with moistened eyes, taking a last look at their country. I saw the white, neat mission house sparkling amidst cocoanut and banana trees, and the missionary under their shade with the bible on his knee, surrounded by a number of interesting, inquiring natives. I saw different tribes assembled around the preacher, all anxious to hear the words of life; and as he dwelt upon the love of Christ and the magnitude of their transgressions, I saw the tears of penitence flow, and heard the broken accents of humble, earnest prayer for forgiveness and guidance from heaven. All this was a beautiful picture in my mind; but alas! for our day dreams and sentimentality! The stern realities of missionary life have borne but little resemblance to the poetical picture of my youthful imagination.

Amongst the trials, difficulties, and dangers of fourteen years of eventful missionary life, that dreary last night in London still stands out prominently in our thoughts. Our ship was to sail from Gravesend on the following morning; and as we regarded the vessel as a very unsuitable place for parting scenes, we had said farewell to the last of our friends; they left London that evening, and then we felt that we were *alone*. Happy homes and loving relatives and friends were behind; and before, all was dark and unknown. We had not formed the acquaintance of our fellow-passengers; had not any friends in Australia; and were strangers to the missionaries in the South Seas. We did not doubt that we should be warmly received by the brethren, and find Christian friends in the colonies; it was the indescribable feeling of loneliness that came over us at the thought of having seen the last of our friends in England, and being utter strangers to those with whom we were about to associate. We walked the streets of that great city, threading our way amidst the multitude, feeling, as many have done before and since, that we were alone in a crowd, had homes, but were homeless, had friends, but were friendless.

We soon found that there was nothing very poetical in the first few days of a voyage. To gaze with tearful eye upon the distant landscape, around which cluster so many happy associations may be all very well from a stage coach or railway carriage but it is quite another thing from the deck of a vessel in a high sea—at least such was our experience, and judging from what we *heard*, rather

than saw, we supposed that it was that of others also. We found agreeable passengers on board, however, and had a pleasant voyage of seventy-four days to Melbourne. A stay of six weeks in the colonies gave us an insight into colonial life. After which we sailed, in the *John Williams*, down the beautiful harbour of Port Jackson, and made for the scene of our labours. Happily we went round by Tahiti, and so had an opportunity of visiting nearly all the mission stations of the London Missionary Society in the South Seas; this is of very great importance to a young missionary: he sees the work at different stations in different stages of progression, converses with the missionaries about their various modes of working their districts; and is thus able to form his plans with facility, and enter upon his work with advantage.

So much having been said and written about the natural beauty of the South Sea Islands, we were all of course on the *qui vive* as we approached Tahiti. We sighted and sailed half round the island with a most agreeable light breeze, which seemed to carry us completely beyond the influence of Old Neptune, and place us beneath the shade of Apollo. The spirit of the Muses descended, so the ladies fell to sketching, and the gentlemen to writing verses. But poetry aside—for Manchester men are more practical than poetical—the finest scenery in Tahiti (the gem of the South Sea Islands) is not to be compared with landscapes in Great Britain, much less with those on the Continent. I have not seen the scenery of Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine equalled on any of the islands of the South Seas. We were kindly

entertained by Mr Howe, who at that time was prohibited by the French authorities from ministering to his people. We were obliged to get special permission from the governor before we could see Queen Pomare, and then were only allowed an interview in the presence of a government officer. We were requested by Mr Howe to guard our words in conducting the English service, as he had been threatened by the governor on account of one of the missionaries, on a previous voyage of the *John Williams*, having prayed publicly for the *persecuted Tahitians*. I could not but feel that Mr Howe's position was a very painful and difficult one. How little did I then think that I was destined to occupy a similar one at Lifu.

We were greatly interested in all that we saw at the different mission stations on our way down to the Loyalty group, especially at Samoa, where we remained for a few weeks. The natives of that group are certainly the most French in their manners, the most Italian in their language, and the most English in their religion and liberality, of any that we have met. That field is well adapted to be the centre of the Society's operations in the South Seas. Leaving the Navigator's group, we sailed westward, and were soon amongst the naked painted savages of the New Hebrides. The contrast was painful, indeed, appalling. Amongst the eastern islands we had been welcomed by neatly-dressed natives with smiling faces; had visited their happy homes and well-attended schools; had met them at the house of God, and sat with them around the Lord's table, and had seen the un-

mistakable evidences of progress on every side. But here we were met (where it was prudent to land) by natives most disgusting in appearance, and equally impudent in manner. Their impudence, however, has doubtless been acquired by their intercourse with sandalwooders and abandoned sailors, for it is not a natural feature in native character; they are generally rather afraid and retiring. We found their huts to be small, dirty, miserable habitations; their wives complete slaves, and horribly maltreated. We remained two nights ashore at Erromanga with the martyrs Mr and Mrs Gordon. The hill on which their house stood overlooked a lovely valley, and I shall never forget standing at the door on that charming night. The moon had come forth "like a fair shepherdess with her full flock of stars," and was casting her pale silvery rays upon the deep still waters of the ocean. The mountains stood around in stately grandeur, rearing their silent peaks towards the stars, as if anxious to get above and beyond the scenes of cruelty and blood that were being enacted at their base. The murmuring stream, along whose banks the lamented Williams had run for dear life, was winding its course along the valley below. We were talking of Erromanga's sad history and dark future, when we were startled by the cries of a female proceeding from some huts near the river; we listened, and shuddered as her shrieks rolled along the valley, and echoed among the hills. Mr Gordon informed us that it was "a man beating his wife with a club, a very common occurrence." What a blessing the gospel is! Had the Erromangans

like the Eastern Islanders, been living beneath its shade, instead of hearing those horrible shrieks, we should have listened to the songs of evening praise warbling from the different huts. But alas for poor Erromanga! notwithstanding the earnest efforts of the devoted missionaries who have laboured and are still labouring there, she appears about as dark now as she was then. The injuries which she has inflicted upon Europeans are but as the merest dust in the balance compared with the wrongs which she has suffered at their hands; and now she says, "You have abused our wives and our daughters; you have murdered our sons and our husbands before our eyes, and taken others away as slaves; you have brought diseases that have decimated the population; you have plundered our plantations, and robbed us of our sandal-wood; and when we have stood up in self-defence, you have brought your men-of-war to desolate our villages. A missionary is poor compensation for all these outrages. We don't want the religion of such a people. We will have nothing to do with you. Begone! we swear vengeance against every white man!" Is not this a very natural feeling? Can we wonder at the difficulty of missionary work, and the little success attending earnest effort in the New Hebrides group? The wonder is, that the natives don't attack every vessel that visits their islands, and murder every white man in their power.

From the New Hebrides we proceeded to the Loyalty group, in which there were but two missionaries, and they located on Mare. These brethren gave us a

most hearty welcome; they were delighted to see missionaries for Lifu at last. One of them accompanied us to Lifu, and introduced us to the people. The physical features of the island, and the character of the inhabitants, I have already described. It was arranged at Mare that my colleague should take the station at Mu, the weather side of the island; and I that at Chepenehe, Wide Bay. Seldom have missionaries entered upon their work under such favourable circumstances. The natives assembled from every part of the island to welcome us, and with a willing heart carried up our goods from the boat, and re-thatched the teachers' lath and plaster cottage, which was given up to us.

The delight of the natives was considerably increased by the return of four Lifu young men that we picked up at Raratonga. Dr Turner, who accompanied us as a deputation from Samoa, writes of these natives:—

“The four natives of Lifu, to whom I have already referred as being on board our vessel, now rejoiced to find themselves on their native shores. There is a tale connected with these four young men which makes us ashamed of our country. They say that they were decoyed from their island by a sandal-wood vessel from Sydney, upwards of three years ago. They had gone on board to sell some things, were battened down in the hold, and let up on deck next day, when their island was all but out of sight. They were nearly a year on Espiritu Santo, cutting and cleaning sandal-wood, and were then taken to the Island of Ascension, and sold for pigs, yams, and

firewood. They were rated according to age, &c., and fetched from two to five pigs, and a proportionable quantity of yams and firewood for each man. There were ten of them in all. After a time six managed to run away, and escaped to Hong Kong, where five of them died. The remaining four might still have been in slavery on Ascension, but for the kind help of the American missionaries there, together with Captain Thompson, of the whaling ship *China*. The captain bought off two of them, and the other two were redeemed partly by their own earnings and partly by the missionary. They were then taken to Honolulu. The Rev. S. C. Damon and others kindly attended to them at that place, until another generous American captain took them to Raratonga, there to await the arrival of the *John Williams*. One of them speaks English well. Mr Williams, the British consul at Samoa, has taken down the depositions of the young men, and will report all to the proper quarter. In the course of our voyage, we have traced the name of the Sydney vessel, and also that of her captain and supercargo. The Lifu people had long given up these four young men as dead; and their restoration was no small addition to the joy occasioned by the arrival of the missionaries. Two of them are of high rank in the bay where we anchored, and it was affecting to see how the people clung to them, listening to their tale, and following them wherever they went."

By the evening of the first day all our goods were landed, and cups and saucers were rattling, and the teapot steaming upon an article of native manufacture,

which was dignified by the name of "table," at the head of which sat my energetic little wife, feeling that, at last, she was at *home*. Nearly a year had elapsed since we left England, and although we had met with many kind friends, yet we always felt that we were dependent; now, however, we were *independent* in the double sense. We sat round this piece of native mechanism (I might almost call it an *automaton*, it moved and spoke so easily!) on boxes: and on this, our first day of actual house-keeping and missionary life, we had the pleasure of entertaining Dr Turner, Captain Williams, and Mr Jones, as guests, and we all thoroughly enjoyed that evening meal.

On the following morning our friends left us in the *John Williams*. I had thought that this would be a very trying time, but it was nothing of the kind. We were surrounded by hundreds of noisy natives, some of whom were busily engaged thatching our house, and there was neither time nor inclination for sentimentalism. Our little cottage soon began to look like home. By the taste and activity of Mrs M'Farlane, packing cases were soon dressed, and transformed into handsome looking pieces of furniture. The windows, although the admiration of the natives, who had not any in their houses, were such that we could not keep out the wind and rain without shutting out the light also. Although, after heavy rains, the water was ankle deep in our house, and during the hurricane months we had to prop it up, yet it was a much better one than we expected to find, and superior to most of those occupied by missionaries, upon their

arrival in the field. We have never been troubled with the feeling that because we are missionaries we ought to deny ourselves of easily-acquired conveniences and comforts; indeed, it has always been our endeavour to have things as neat, clean, and convenient as possible: trying to raise the natives to us, rather than descend to them. The Roman Catholic priests generally live in miserable houses, remarkable only for their filth and disorder; and their persons are often disgustingly dirty. Roman Catholic settlers have told me that they are perfectly ashamed of them; and French officers have expressed a hope that I would not judge of their priesthood by their missionaries in the Loyalty group. This they call "merit" and "self-sacrifice." I call it a sin, a shame, and a disgrace; and if I were their bishop, I would make these "apostolical missionaries" drink, and smoke, and sleep less than they do, and get better houses over their heads, and so set the natives a better example. The following is a significant fact. One of the store-keepers in New Caledonia, who supplies the priests with their provisions and barter goods, told me that during the three years he had been there, the priests had ordered all sorts of goods, but never any *soap*. He made the same statement about their converts.

We had now fairly entered upon our work. The natives poured in from the surrounding villages, but I soon found that they had come—not as you see them sometimes represented in pictures, neatly dressed, with modest step and book in hand, to be instructed in the Scriptures—but with pigs, yams, fowls, mats, cocoanuts,

&c., for barter. They had a missionary now, and they seemed to think that he ought to buy all they brought. They saw that I had a goodly number of boxes, for I had been unwisely advised to take with me a large supply of trade for barter, which I now see might, in other circumstances, have cost me my life. Bartering was a new thing to me: I would rather have had to do with the £ s. d., than with fish-hooks and cottons, hatchets and knives, shirts and calicoes. In my day dreams of missionary life, this sort of work had no place: however, I went at it: I knew that we must have some pork to eat, and something to feed pigs with. We must have mats for the floor; we must also have servants, and food for them: and over all, and most expensive of all, the natives knew that I was a "new hand," and inexperienced, and took the advantage. I bought, and bought, and bought, but finding that some of the things were moving in a circle, and having no inclination to pay half-a-dozen times for the same article, I was obliged to close the market, at the expense of my popularity.

I felt greatly embarrassed at not being able to speak to the people in their own language, although the difficulty was considerably lessened by a number of the young men being able to speak broken English. I felt that, especially amongst a people like this, *language is power*, so I bent my energies to the acquisition of the Lifu dialect. In less than four months I commenced reading my sermons, and about three months afterwards began to preach them. No doubt I made some very ludicrous mistakes, but I begged the natives to correct

me in every case. It would, in my opinion, have been a greater mistake to have remained silent until I supposed that I could speak pretty correctly. There is nothing like dashing at it at once. The natives are pleased to see and hear you make an attempt to speak to them in their own tongue. If they laugh you laugh, and try to find out your error and correct it. My experience has been that it is better to get sentences than disconnected words.

I soon found that there was a good deal of manual labour about a mission station which devolves (for a while at least), upon the missionary, not from the unwillingness of the natives so much, as from their inability. A church, schoolroom, dwelling-house, and outhouses have to be built, and you not only have to lay the corner stones, but nearly all the others, if you want them straight. You have to superintend the making of lime, and the sawing of wood; to sharpen the saws and mark the logs; I had with me a small portable forge and a chest of carpenter's tools. My friends in Manchester made me a most sensible present upon my leaving England; it consisted of a tool chest and a medicine chest, both of which are invaluable in the South Seas; although I confess, that I found the former much more valuable than the latter, which was a chest of homœopathic medicines. I had also a case of the more substantial kind with me, but not being much of a doctor, and knowing that there were "great guns" on both sides, I thought that I might as well practice one "opathy" as the other. I therefore read "Sharp's

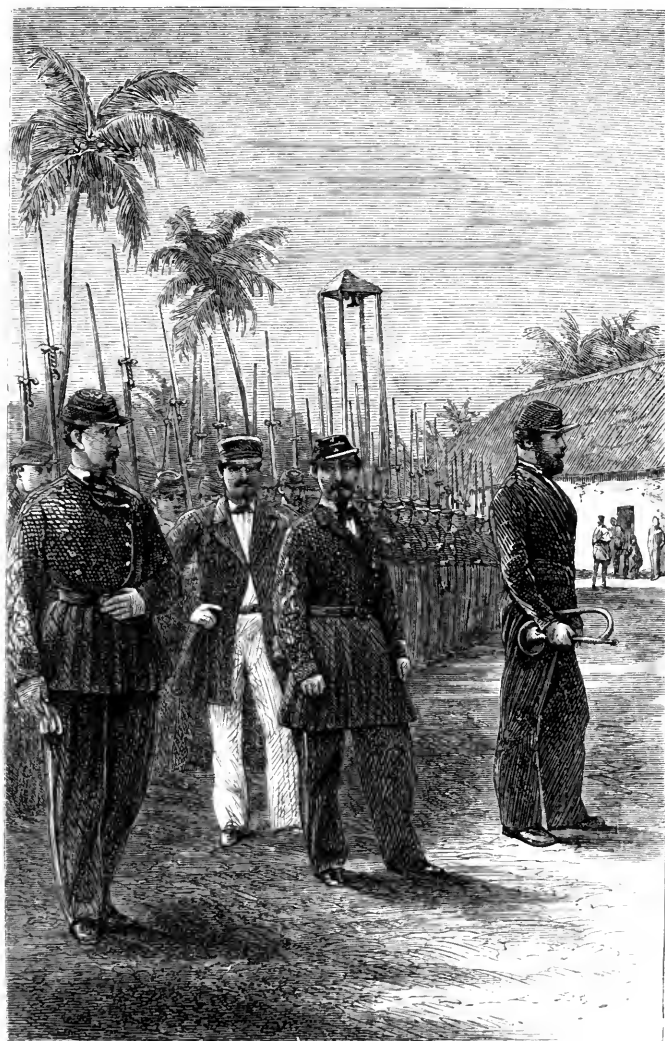
tracts on homœopathy" and studied Laurie. The theory seemed sensible and sound, so I commenced the practice : but the natives had no faith in it, and unfortunately the results were not calculated to inspire much faith in its power to heal ; so that I was obliged to administer other medicines, the effects of which were evident to the most faithless.

A missionary in the South Seas has not only to be preacher, but doctor, mechanic, and indeed "Jack of all trades." The natives can only do what they are taught. When anything requires to be done, you must know how to do it, or it remains undone. To draw a plan of your church, school, and dwelling-house, you must be an architect; to build and repair them, you must be mason and carpenter. When a pane of glass is broken, you must turn glazier. When the table knives or your wife's scissors require sharpening, you must turn scissor-grinder. To mend your chairs, you must be a cabinet-maker. To repair your boat, you must be boat-builder; to manage it in rough weather among those islands, you must be a seaman. To shoe your horse, you must be a blacksmith; and to manage him over island roads, you must be a rider. To bear with the natives, requires an inexhaustible stock of patience; and to succeed amongst them, more than ordinary perseverance and discretion. So that more is required to make a good missionary than the mere ability to translate and expound the Scriptures.

VII.

THE CHIEF'S ENCLOSURES—THE TEMPORARY CHAPEL—THE CONGREGATION
—THE NEW CHURCH—TOUR ROUND THE ISLAND—WHAT WAS DONE AND
YET TO BE DONE—SHOEING THE HORSE—NATIVE REMARKS ABOUT THE
HORSE—TEACHERS—PAO'S WILL AND DEATH—MAY MEETINGS—
DIVIDING THE FOOD, AND AMUSEMENTS.

THE church at Chepenehe having been blown down in a hurricane about the beginning of the year, we found the natives assembling for worship in a native house in the chief's enclosure. The enclosure itself was a novelty, and must have cost the natives many months unusually hard work. It was about three hundred yards long by one hundred broad. The fence consisted of immense logs of hard wood, short logs with forked heads being first placed firmly in the ground at short distances from each other; upon these, logs were laid horizontally, against which logs ten feet high were reared on their ends, standing close together. A second or third row of smaller logs closed up every aperture, so that it was impossible even to see inside from without. Within this enclosure there was quite a small village: here the chief and the leading families resided; it was the "*West End*" of Chepenehe, but alas for the aristocracy of Lifu! they had nothing to distinguish them but these rough logs around their dwellings; yet of these they



THE CHURCH AT CHEPENCHE OCCUPIED BY THE SOLDIERS.

were mightily proud ; it was a sign of power, small chiefs being unable to get such fences constructed for want of men.

The house which the chief had given up for religious worship (*pro tem.*), was a low, dark, dirty hovel, not half large enough for the congregation ; it was near the fence, had but one small door, and no windows. Some of the thatch had been pulled off at the back to let the light in. On the first Sabbath of our actual missionary life, we met the people in this place, or I should rather say, *at* this place, for although the house was thoroughly packed, it was also surrounded by natives, chiefly dirty, degraded looking women, with noisy children hanging about them. We had two chairs taken down, and sat near the door ; but it seemed almost impossible to get a breath of air ; indeed the arrangements appear to have been made to keep the air out ; and not knowing the language, the service appeared to us very long.

It was a most amusing congregation. Some of them had procured European garments from traders, it looked as if a few suits had been divided amongst them ; a native, just opposite where we sat, had on a pair of spectacles ; he was looking intently, with the most hypocritical face, upon a small hymn book which was turned upside down. (The teachers had got a dozen hymns printed in which there was neither sense nor metre.) The natives sang with all their might, but I don't think that the "melody was well fitted to make angels weep for joy." For their singing at that time was evidently an attempt to make

the most discordant sounds—the more discordant the better the music, in their estimation. Most of them opened their mouths and shouted as loud as they could, keeping their tongues wagging to give variety, and stopping suddenly to draw breath. They listened attentively to the sermon as could be expected, considering the intense heat; we all came out as from a vapour bath, and it was laughable to see the variety of dress, native and European, the most ludicrous of which was a fellow strutting along with an old hat and dress coat without any trousers. All had, of course, their girdle of calico or leaves, which is amongst them the badge of Christianity. The word in the Lifu dialect for embracing the gospel, is that used for tying on this girdle; to return to heathenism is to untie it.

I told the teacher that it would have been better had he erected a temporary place of worship whilst the new church was being built, but as the walls were finished, he need not do so now; we could have service in the enclosure, under the cocoanut-trees, in fine weather until the new building was ready. This was not long, for the natives worked with a will, and very soon it was roofed and seated, and a platform and reading desk constructed. The walls were far from being straight, but they were solid, and we were all glad to have such a comfortable substantial place in which to assemble for worship. At the opening there was a great feast, at which all the teachers and several thousand natives were present, and all seemed thoroughly to enjoy themselves.

When we had been about six weeks on the island, I

determined to make a tour round it, in order to see the different localities, become acquainted with the natives, and by being alone with them for a short time, to acquire, more rapidly and correctly, an idea of their language. I found that the roads in the interior were very bad, but saw that they could, with comparatively little labour, be made into good routes, the island being flat, and the coral easily broken with hammers. The natives were living in about one hundred and fifty hamlets, assembling for public worship at different centres where teachers were located. Their houses were low, with but one aperture, through which you were obliged to go on hands and knees to enter. Some of them were beginning to construct better dwellings near the churches. The natives assembled, in great numbers, at the different stations at which we had arranged to spend the night, bringing plenty of food as a token of welcome. We spent our evenings squatting on mats around a large fire in the enclosure (a much more comfortable place than inside the house, which is generally full of smoke), conversing as best we could in broken English. It is highly amusing to hear these natives carrying on a conversation with a vocabulary of about forty words.

One could not but feel what a great and good work had been done, and what a great work was yet to be done, among this people. Throughout the island I found them peaceable, hospitable, regular in their attendance at church and school, and manifesting a strong desire to be instructed. The number of professed heathen was

comparatively small, as also the number of those who attended the services of the Roman Catholic priests. Idolatry and cannibalism were becoming things of the past. Polygamy had received its death-blow; and heathen customs and practices were gradually sinking into oblivion. Places over which the bush had grown, and which could scarcely be distinguished from the wild waste around, were pointed out to me as the sites of large houses in which they used to meet to consult about their wars; others were still standing, having been turned into village chapels. There was still much to be done, however. The natives were little more than nominally Christian; morally, socially, and spiritually, they were very low; they required to be instructed, and their habits, houses, roads, &c., improved. It was a comfort to feel that, at last, they were on the *path* of human progress: that the murderous war-whoop was hushed into silence, and the men who formerly hastened to kill, cook, and eat their fellows, were now peaceful, compassionate, and in their right mind. It was desirable now to create a healthful public opinion against all kinds of vice; to make the principles and precepts of Christianity universally respected, the law of every man's actions, and work them into the texture of Lifu society; and to accomplish this we felt how desirable it was that they should possess, in their own tongue, portions of the Sacred Scriptures as soon as possible.

It was very evident to me, after my one hundred and forty miles' tour, that a horse would be a most useful animal in Lifu, so I determined to get one from Samoa.

A new difficulty presented itself, however, upon its arrival. The roads being bad, it must be shod, but I had not any horse-shoes; yet I thought that perhaps I might be able to make such as would do until I got them from Sydney. I got a piece of an old packing case, placed the horse's foot upon it, and drew a line round the hoof; to this line I bent two pieces of iron, and punched holes in them (intending to put shoes on the fore feet only), but the difficulty was to fasten them on; having failed to do so with common nails, and failed also in my attempt to make nails (for however easy it may appear to a looker on, a nail is a difficult thing to make), I was obliged to put them on with screws! We have now, I am happy to say, a native servant who has learnt both to shoe the horse and us too. The remarks made by the natives about the horse were amusing. They called it a large dog, evidently regarding it as a very superior one, for they addressed it in chief's language. An old man stated, not very long ago, that he had been feeding his dog for a long time, hoping that it would grow as large as the missionary's, but he feared that it would never be big enough to carry him, and asked, quite innocently for an explanation. We have the dual pronoun in the Lifu language, and when the natives meet the missionary on horseback they use it, asking where are *you two* going. The missionaries have lately introduced *donkeys* to the island of Mare, and when met by natives on these "Jerusalem ponies" they are accosted with the usual, *where are you two going?*

Having acquired a little of the language, I commenced

as early as possible, the more active and important duties of a missionary. I soon found that it was not only undesirable, but impossible to carry out our different forms of church government in the mission field; and although a thorough "Independent," I soon found myself virtually a *bishop*, in charge of a large *diocese*. I established a weekly class with the teachers, to give them the outline of a sermon for the Sabbath morning, and to hear and correct the one which they had prepared for the evening. Also to hear an account of their work at their stations; give advice in cases of difficulty; explain passages of Scripture which they did not understand, and for united prayer, exhortation, and conversation about their people and their work generally. Amongst the teachers there were two or three really good, earnest, able men; but I must say that the majority were lazy, selfish, ignorant, and proud. It must not be supposed that all native teachers are like Pao; he was a distinguished exception. Not that he was a man of much education, for he could neither read nor write very well; but he was evidently a man of extraordinary piety, energy, and faith. Not only was he the apostle of Lifu, but he also sought on two occasions to plant the gospel on New Caledonia, having gone thither with some Lifu men in a canoe. Pao's work was to be simply that of a pioneer; he was not qualified for the steady, systematic duties of a settled teacher. About a year after our arrival he became confined to his bed, and, after a lingering illness, died, loved and lamented by the population generally. Some

time before his death he expressed a strong desire to make his will in my presence. He had a wife and two little daughters; one of the latter he *disinherited* altogether because she had not been attentive to him during his illness, preferring the play-ground to the sick-chamber. I remonstrated, but he remained firm. He then charged me to see that the following distribution was made of his property. To a friend in Aitutaki he bequeathed an old black cloth coat, the best he had. To a native at Raratonga he left a carpenter's brace and bits. To another friend of the same island he left a large auger. He bequeathed to his wife her own box, containing two dresses, a bonnet, and a piece of calico! To the younger daughter he left the most valuable part of his property—a few carpenter's tools, all of which were specified; also what clothes remained after he had been buried in a suit. He desired me to see that his wife and children went to Raratonga by the *John Williams*. Thus passed away the apostle of Lifu; more like an apostle, in some respects, than many of us. What a contrast between his usefulness and will, and those of many professing christians! would that we looked at things more in the light of eternity.

The natives had heard of the May meetings at Mare, and looked forward with great interest to such gatherings at Lifu. We arranged to have two, one in the Lösi, and the other in the Wet district. I determined also to examine the scholars and distribute prizes at the same time, hoping thereby to stimulate the natives generally in the acquisition of knowledge. Great preparations

were made. A suitable place, about a quarter of a mile from the village, was cleared, and a platform erected under a large tree. Large quantities of food were collected and piled in heaps, crowned with baked pigs, fowls, and fish, pierced through with long sticks and placed in the most grotesque manner. Mrs M'Farlane and the teachers' wives made a number of gay banners from pieces of fancy print; upon a few white ones I painted mottoes and texts of scripture; these were carried by the delighted natives, who formed at the church, and walked in procession to the place of rendezvous, each Sabbath school teacher at the head of his and her scholars—we had commenced regular Manchester Sabbath schools. Many of the Roman Catholics and heathen were present, to whom spirited and pointed appeals were made by the speakers. The natives gave such as they had, and their contributions amounted, from both districts, to £13, 17s 7½d in cash, and 2145 native mats, bags, &c. After the first year they contributed cocoanut fibre, cocoanut oil, and cash; and their contributions increased annually until the arrival of the French, who prohibited them from giving donations to the London Missionary Society. After the meeting was over the food was divided, which is a rather exciting and amusing time. I soon learnt that the success of a meeting amongst the natives did not depend so much upon the speeches as on the amount of food. The natives had evidently brought mouths as well as ears; and I fancy they made better use of the former than the latter.

In dividing out the food on all public gatherings

nobody is forgotten ; there is a pile for each village, although there may be only one person from a village present. There is a portion for foreigners, one for Roman Catholics, another for the heathen (as long as there were any). It would be considered an insult to any that were omitted. When all is divided, one man is appointed to stand near each pile of food, calling out the name of the village for which it is intended, immediately after which there is a scramble. Half a dozen men stand round, armed with cudgels to prevent natives from other villages taking the food which does not belong to them ; yet although they use their sticks pretty freely, there is a good deal of pilfering goes on, much to the amusement of the crowd of spectators. After the food has been distributed, all is noise, merriment and confusion for a time. Some may be seen capering about with immense yams, the size of which they are diminishing as quickly as possible ; another will have a leg of pork ; others will be carving a fowl in the most primitive and expedite manner ; whilst fish, on the end of sticks, may be seen moving as rapidly in the air as ever they did in their natural element. The food having all disappeared, we spend the remainder of the day in innocent games. Fire-works, and sometimes a balloon, close the proceedings of a happy day.

VIII.

FORMING A CHURCH—TERMS OF CHURCH FELLOWSHIP—STRONG DESIRE OF THE NATIVES TO JOIN THE CHURCH—OUR SUPPOSITIONS NOT THE STANDARD—EIGHT CHURCHES FORMED—THE ELEMENTS USED—EXPECTING THE “JOHN WILLIAMS”—CHANGES WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE—ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP—EXCITEMENT AND CONFUSION—BUILDING OUR DWELLING-HOUSE—MAKING THE LIME—SITE OF HOUSE—MODE OF BUILDING—PAPER-HANGING—FIRE PLACE—SEMINARY COMMENCED—STUPIDITY OF THE NATIVES—WHAT A PIONEER TEACHER SHOULD BE.

THE time had now arrived for the formation of a church on Lifu. There was no lack of material, such as it was; some two thousand natives were anxious to join the “ekalesia,” but we felt that comparatively few of them were suitable persons. The admission of natives to church fellowship has always been, with me, a difficult question. Repentance, which ought to characterise all who desire to be called and treated as the children of God in Christ Jesus, is not, I am sorry to say, a very prominent feature in a South Sea Islander; indeed instances of REAL LOVE TO GOD, *and* DEEP PENITENCE *on account of sin*, and a desire to live for *His glory*, are, alas, very rare. They appear to be sorry for sin, only so far as it affects *themselves*; they are afraid of offending God, lest His wrath should descend upon their heads; theirs is pre-eminently a religion more of *fear* than of *love*. This I find to be the experience of other mission-

aries also, with whom I have conversed on the subject. 'Tis not fair to give merely a one-sided view of native character. There can be no question about their being prodigious Bible-readers, church-goers, and psalm-singers; but then it is just as true that many of these worthy characters are notorious liars, profound hypocrites, and not a bit too honest. Yet why should we be surprised at this? it is not peculiar to the natives of the South Sea Islands. How few of us reach that pinnacle of Godliness—loving God *because* He loves us, and serving Him because we *love* Him. Religion is with too many a thing of pure expediency.

What should be the terms of admission to church fellowship? Upon this question there exists a variety of opinion in the South Seas as well as in England. Total abstinence from *smoking* is a *sine quâ non* with some missionaries, whilst others will admit upon a simple profession of faith in Christ, there being no objection against the person's moral conduct. Now, I am inclined to agree with the latter, although my experience has been that in this, as in most things, we may go to extremes. However desirable it may be to save the natives from the habit of smoking, which they carry to such excess, we have no warrant for making it a matter of church discipline; besides the natives themselves know that many ministers and good men in the Colonies smoke. On the other hand, I have found natives so anxious to be admitted to the church, that in order to accomplish their object, they would profess faith in Christ, or in anybody, or anything else; although there

was evidently no change of heart. The question with them is "what shall I do to be admitted to the church?" They seem to think that they are all right if they can get there. They will come, for many miles, week after week to converse with the missionary, with a desire, not so much to be instructed, as to fulfil what they regard as a necessary preliminary. They will ask what they are to give up, and what they are to do. You give them a small catechism prepared expressly for them, and they will work at it most assiduously until they have committed the whole to memory, and then they will answer the questions with parrot-like formality. Cross-question them, and they are silent. You ask them if they believe in God as the only true God; and if they believe that He sent His Son Jesus Christ to save sinners, and you receive a surprised and perplexed look; it is like asking them if they think you a liar. You ask them if they love God; oh yes, they say, there's no love like mine. Do you pray to Him? yes, three times a day. What do you say? Oh Jesus, pity me, and receive me into Thy church. But do you try to please Jesus? yes! Do you never break any of His laws? never. Then you try to show them what sinners they are, and how penitent they should be, and ask them if they never feel sorry on account of their sins. Yes, some of them will answer; I can scarcely sleep at night for thinking and crying about my sins! They will make any sacrifice to be admitted to the church; would, no doubt, go round the island on "all fours" if required; and all this notwithstanding our earnest endeavours to enlighten

their dark minds on the subject. What is to be done? Some say, "Don't admit anyone of whose change of heart you are not fully convinced." In that case the terms of admission would not have reference to them so much as to our feelings respecting them. If a native is anxious to become a member of the church, and answers my questions satisfactorily, and is recommended by the teacher and deacons; I have no hesitancy about proposing him or her to the church, and if ultimately admitted by their unanimous vote, they are entitled to my confidence; I don't see that my suppositions have anything to do with the matter, I may be mistaken. The state of things which I have described is only to be found, of course, in the early stages of a Mission, and is a disorder for which education is the best remedy.

We formed eight churches on Lifu, consisting of about thirty members each, which we visit in rotation, and which have gone on increasing until they now contain—notwithstanding the trials to which they have been exposed—an aggregate of about two thousand five hundred members. The question of foreign bread and wine being used at the ordinance was introduced at our annual meeting, and feeling the tendency of the natives to regard the sacrament with superstitious feelings, and the desirability of keeping it as simple and primitive as possible, and also of using elements that might be easily procured by the natives themselves, we determined to use the *bread and wine of the country*, viz., the beautiful white yams for which the Loyalty group is celebrated, and cocoanut milk; which is much more scriptural, in

my opinion, than water coloured with a little wine, and brownish bread made from the dregs of the missionary's flour cask, which he has had for perhaps two years. The object of a missionary should be to establish Christianity in such a way that the natives may find elements *within themselves* for its sustentation and advancement. The natives upon most of the South Sea Islands will always find it difficult to obtain bread and wine; why, then, should they be taught that these are necessary to commemorate the death of our Lord, and led to seek them amongst—in many cases—abandoned sailors? It is impossible to think that Christ would have done this, and as He would, no doubt, have used the bread and wine of the country, why should not we?

We now began to look for the return of the *John Williams*; she had been absent nearly two years, having made her voyage to England; and that time had appeared to us to pass away very rapidly and pleasantly. Not being accustomed to housekeeping, we had miscalculated our stores, and for a month or two before the arrival of the mission ship we were out of European provisions. But it is no great hardship to have nothing to eat but pork, fowls, turkeys, yams, taro, and young cocoanuts, the last of which are meat and drink in themselves. Many changes had taken place since the *John Williams* left us. Flowers were now blooming in front of our little cottage, and a rosy-cheeked, curly-headed little fellow was playing on the green sward. We had dispensed with some of our legless tables, and substituted others, which, whatever might be said about the workmanship, evidently belonged to the

genus table. We had also sofas fresh from the hands of the upholsterer, or rather upholsteress; and as the cabinetmaker's work was entirely covered in, they passed off, of course, as first-class articles. We had also a bookcase, and a wardrobe, which were more useful than ornamental. Our new church was completed, and we were beginning to feel at home in the language, in which we had got a primer and small hymn book printed; so that we looked forward to the return of the *John Williams* with a great deal of interest, and the more so as she was coming from our friends in England.

The arrival of the Mission ship amongst us is not unlike that of the mail in a new colony. There are first the pleasures of anticipation, the anxiety, speculation, preparation, &c. The missionary and his wife venture all sorts of opinions about family, religious and political matters, and as the time approaches these little disquisitions become frequent and animated, until the vessel arrives with her precious cargo of missionaries, letters, and supplies. The keen eye of a native can distinguish a sail at an incredible distance. Often, when to us, the horizon has appeared perfectly clear, there has arisen from the natives a deafening cry of, "sail oh!" Three masts lead to the conclusion that it must be the *John Williams*, and all becomes excitement. The very time that you want your servants, they are not to be found. A host of little domestic misfortunes are sure to happen. The calf gets loose, and milks the cow before the boy arrives, which upsets the arrangements of the culinary department. When all is ready for the oven, it is

discovered that the boy has not yet got his fire-wood! then the girl leaves the frying-pan on the fire, and runs down to the beach to meet the boat. And so the confusion goes on. After the excitement of the day comes the not less excitement of the night, which is devoted to reading letters, when all have retired; but the news received sometimes throws a terrible gloom over the proceedings of the following day, and the vessel leaves us lamenting the death of some dear relative or friend.

After the departure of the *John Williams*, I determined to commence the building of our new house. The little cottage in which we were living was not a bad summer house, but in rainy weather it was not only exceedingly disagreeable, but positively dangerous. Having seen at some mission stations, a number of out-houses, incommensurable and difficult to be kept in repair; I thought that it would be an improvement to have dwelling-house, classroom, store-room, kitchen, and bath-room, all under one roof; which I now find was a mistake, especially with reference to the class-room; this, for several reasons, should always be a separate building. The first thing to be done was to prepare the lime, and as all the natives turned out, forty pits were made in two or three days. The natives had been taught by the Eastern teachers to make lime by digging large holes, filling up with logs of wood, and then heaping pieces of coral on the top. It appeared to me that there was a good deal of waste, both of labour and wood, by this plan, as much of the under wood was burnt away before the coral was even heated; so that afterwards, and ever since, we have adopted a much better

way, by using *small* pieces of coral, and by placing the wood and stones in layers, which yields much more lime with the same quantity of wood. The house in which we were living was built half way up an incline that rose gradually from the beach to the height of about seventy feet, and was consequently very much exposed in heavy rains; we determined, therefore, to have our new house on the top of this incline. It was about one hundred yards in the bush, and two hundred from the beach, and in the middle of the village, yet as that was near the beach, it was sufficiently above it to be private and quiet. I proceeded thither with a few natives, axe in hand, to mark the site. Having climbed a tree to get our *bearings*, we marked a number of trees around the place to be cleared, leaving a semicircle of low bush in front. The natives were mightily amused and puzzled when they saw the foundation marked out, and many of them tried to trace the, to them, interminable windings of the string. I was not less amused and perplexed, however, at their mode of working: each village trying to get their portion done before the other, and in their hurry using the mortar before it was half mixed: or even using pure lime, rather than wait for the sand. It was impossible to attend to all: whilst superintending one party, another would have built up two or three feet all askew. The house being in the form of a T, there ought to have been many angles, but there were not any! these had to be made afterwards with a hammer and lime. The difficulty was to get the masonry to stand until dry. Portions of the house fell many times, and several times after the

natives had given it, what they considered, the finishing stroke. It is now, however, a substantial, commodious, and even a handsome dwelling; boarded throughout, two feet from the ground, and most of the rooms papered! We found this was the easiest, cheapest, and prettiest way of finishing our rooms. It would have been too much labour to make the walls anything like straight and smooth with plaster; whereas by putting on a cheap paper, which only stuck to the prominent parts of the wall (real paper-*hanging*), we had elegant rooms at once. I was led to practise another bit of ocular deception, with reference to a fire-place which I made some years ago. Finding the evenings rather cold during several months in the year, I turned a window into a fire-place, building up a chimney behind the house; but alas, it smoked very much, making the wall (not one of the papered ones) over the fire-place quite black; so I painted an arch with black paint, which took in rather more than the fire-place, and which has been admired by our friends as a decided improvement! However much the chimney may now smoke, it does not injure the wall, and as we have not any ceiling, it easily ascends, and there are plenty of outlets. Many an evening we have sat by our log-fire, thoroughly enjoying our roasted yam, and talking of the more elegant hearths in England, and wishing that those who sat round them were as happy as ourselves. Would that we were all more deeply impressed with the fact, that happiness does not consist so much in *what we have*, as in *what we are*.

Feeling that the future strength and usefulness of the

mission depended upon the development of its inherent power, we resolved to establish a seminary at Lifu for the training of native teachers to provide pastors for the churches at home, and pioneer teachers for the surrounding heathen islands. Having communicated our views to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, and received from them the assurance of their satisfaction at the proposal, also of their readiness to meet the necessary expenses connected with such an institution, it was arranged that it should be established at Chepenehe. We had numerous applicants, recommended by the teachers, from every part of the island, from whom we selected about twenty of the most intelligent. With these we had a special meeting, and spoke to them faithfully about the work to which they were looking forward, reminding them of the dangers, and perhaps cruel death to which they might be exposed, and called upon to endure. They said, in reply, that they had thought of all these things, and were prepared for them; that their desire was to become pioneer teachers of the gospel to heathen lands, if they lived, they lived; if they died, they died, "*Eakune a nie hune kō koi Jesu*"—We leave ourselves entirely in the hands of Jesus. There were certainly some fine young fellows amongst them, who have made excellent teachers. A few were obliged to return to their homes from want of capacity, and one was expelled for immoral conduct.

The tutor of a seminary in a new mission in the South Seas is in no enviable position. There is plenty of material to work upon, but to mould and fashion it into

any reasonable shape, is a task that calls for the exercise of a great amount of patience and perseverance. The stupidity of the natives would try the patience of a Job ; indeed it has sometimes been a question, whether even that distinguished patriarch could have maintained the equilibrium of his temper in the *professor's chair* of such a place as a South Sea Seminary ! Yet what can we expect ? The natives are the merest babes in knowledge. Why should not the multiplication table be as perplexing to them, as a difficult problem in Euclid to an English student ? There is this encouragement, however, they are anxious to learn, and this commendable desire covers a multitude of faults. Their mistakes are often the most ludicrous ; although you may feel angry and inclined to be stern at the injury and destruction of things, yet it is impossible to refrain from laughing. For instance, a missionary's wife on a neighbouring island sent a native to clean the stove. The native had no idea of putting black stuff on to *clean* it, and when the lady in question went, sometime afterwards, she found it *white-washed* ! A pioneer native teacher in the South Seas must be taught, not only how to use his pen, but also how to use a builder's trowel, and a carpenter's plane ; however proficient he may be in the former, he will find that ignorance of the latter is a great hinderance to his usefulness among the heathen. I have seen this exemplified in the teacher's from the Eastern Islands, some of whom have been very unpopular with the natives, notwithstanding their ability to shine in vulgar fractions ; whilst others of humbler, but more useful accomplish-

ments have been objects of wonder and admiration. What does a heathen care for the mysteries of arithmetic compared with a knowledge of the useful arts? Men who can build houses, and make canoes and boxes, are the most likely to succeed in establishing a new mission, if, of course, they possess a little scriptural knowledge, and are men of earnest active piety.

IX.

OBJECTIONS AGAINST CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—A MISSIONARY'S OBJECT—A WRITER'S TESTIMONY—WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN EASTERN POLYNESIA—SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS—INCENTIVES TO PROGRESS—ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THEIR CANOES—BOAT-BUILDING—EXPORTS—THE PRIESTS AS TRADERS—TRADING PROHIBITED BY THE DIRECTORS OF THE L. M. S.—IMITATING EUROPEANS—NATIVE LOVE OF DRESS—REMARKS OF A TANNESE—THEIR FEELINGS RESPECTING CHRISTIANITY—OUR LIVES IN DANGER—MISSIONARY TRIALS AND DIFFICULTIES—DANGEROUS VOYAGE IN AN OPEN BOAT.

It is sometimes objected to Christian missions that they do not civilise the people among whom they are established; that they are directed to the inculcation of religious truths, and the wants of the soul, to the utter neglect of mental culture, industrious habits, useful arts, and all temporal improvement. Others (especially the French) are fond of insinuating that, though the missionaries are professedly the agents of a voluntary and purely religious association, established for the purpose of diffusing the knowledge of the Christian religion, they are virtually the agents of the British Government, which is thus covertly extending the political and commercial influence of England. Whilst, amongst our own countrymen, a prejudice exists against missionaries of a diametrically opposite character. They are represented as "dangerous individuals, whose influence saps the foundations of public tranquillity, whose movements require to be narrowly watched, and discouraged rather than favoured by the governments

under which they labour, and whose efforts tend rather to the injury than advantage of society." Amidst such conflicting and contradictory opinions as these the faithful missionary toils on, labouring to promote both the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people. His desire is to see civilisation and evangelisation going hand in hand, like brother and sister.

A gentleman, who is well acquainted with South Sea missions, writes as follows:—

"The conduct of the missionaries in the South Seas towards the native authorities, and towards the representatives of their own government, from the adjacent colony as well as from home, shows, as their conduct in other parts of the world has invariably shown, the utter groundlessness of the prejudices that exist against them; while the extent to which their labours have encouraged the commerce of their country, afforded security to the mariner among tribes formerly the most hostile and ferocious, and the extent to which the civilisation which has followed their exertions has created a demand for the manufactures of their native country, entitle them to a place amongst its sincerest friends, and will in all unprejudiced minds ensure for them approval and respect."

The missions in Eastern Polynesia show that while the communication of religious truth, and the welfare of the soul, have been primary objects, the missionaries have laboured, with remarkable success, to advance the people in civilisation. They have favoured the development of the human mind, called into existence a litera-

ture where before the use of letters was unknown, and diffused the blessings of liberty where savage despotism alone reigned. They have introduced a knowledge of the mechanical arts, opened new avenues for commerce, and guaranteed security to the merchant and the seaman engaged in its pursuit; they have aided the progress of science, and enlarged the field of discovery; whilst the natives have been raised to the exercise of benevolent affections, and the practice of virtue in the present life, as well as directed to seek the glory and blessedness of, that which is to come.

We were anxious to introduce habits of industry among the people of Lifu, and being fully sensible that indolence was the fruitful source of many of their vices, and of the impossibility of their becoming either virtuous or happy without more occupation than the mere cravings of animal nature required, we used all our influence to lead them to improve their dwellings, roads, canoes, &c., and to commence the cultivation of cotton, for which the soil and climate are well adapted. Instead of the numerous insignificant hamlets in which the natives were scattered about the island, we advised them to build respectable villages at the localities where the teachers were settled, and to dig wells; also to erect substantial, commodious chapels. We particularly desired each family to have a house of their own, with at least two separate apartments. Formerly, several families lived together in one house, in which there was not a single partition; young and old, married and single, being all huddled together.

We intended to make the village of Chepenehe a model for the others, and to encourage and stimulate the natives we promised that the young men in the institution should make doors and windows for all *lath and plaster* houses built of a certain size, and also superintend the plastering of the floors. The roads were also improved; so that we can now travel on horseback between the two mission stations—a distance of fifty miles—easily in a day. By the kindness of friends in Adelaide we were enabled to lend the natives hammers, pick-axes, and shovels for digging their wells, building their houses and chapels, and improving their roads.

I have made several ineffectual attempts to lead the natives of Lifu to alter and improve their mode of constructing their canoes; they are, as I have described, of a very inferior kind. Two of the native teachers under my care had to cross the bay nearly every week, a distance of ten miles. They had on several occasions to swim half the distance with the canoe; or on the paddle; or to push the canoe before them, which was full of water, and over which the seas were breaking, rendering it impossible to bale it out. One of the teacher's party, on one occasion, had been drowned. These facts induced me to attempt with the help of the students, to construct a canoe upon some better plan. Among the improvements in the first that we made, it was propelled by two wheel paddles, in velocipede style, which could be easily taken out when there was a favourable wind, and the sail set. The natives, although full of its praises at first, soon showed their preference for their own paddles; to work the

lever required a little more muscular power than they were disposed to bestow upon it; so that as a *steamless steamer* it was never of much real use. The next we made was a light flat-bottomed boat with moveable outrigger, which was very useful for many years; but, like the canoe with paddles, they could not imitate it. The former was too complicated for the natives, and the latter required that the planks should be well jointed, a piece of work which it was very difficult for natives to execute.

Having now served an apprenticeship! we determined to commence building a regular boat during the hours for manual labour in the institution—which are, three hours a day out of three days in the week. The keel was soon laid, and the stem and stern posts fixed. Ordinary boat-builders would have had *three* moulds; we extraordinary ones had only *one*! and the planks were too *independent* to follow even that; owing to some bad start at the keel, they soon left the mould and pursued a course of their own! When finished it was nearly as broad as it was long, and yet not proportionably steady by any means. It was, however, so remarkable a boat that the captain of the *Dayspring* said that he had never seen one like it! he might have added, with the utmost confidence, that he never would. That boat, however, although not the most suitable for a regatta, was a very serviceable little craft on a mission station. The natives found her much safer than their canoes, and much more easily managed. Sometimes, in visiting the out-stations round the coast, we were caught in bad weather, and the waves would, now and then, leap over the sides of the

boat; but what of that? there was plenty of room for both them and us, and it only gave the baler a little work. Some of the natives wished to take a trip to Uvea in her; but it does not follow from this that it would have been safe to attempt such a voyage, for although the islands are not within sight of each other, the natives have ventured from one to the other on small rafts.

Having ascertained that there was a market in Sydney for cocoa-nut fibre, and seeing that an abundance of that article could be prepared on Lifu, we urged the natives to produce and export it. So great was the quantity sent to the Colonies, from the Loyalty group, and other islands in Eastern Polynesia, that the market soon became over-stocked, and the price lowered to such a degree, that no encouragement was offered to the natives to continue its production. Cotton, cocoa-nut oil, pigs, and poultry, became and remain the staple exports of Lifu. The cultivation of cotton is greatly increasing every year; the year before I left Lifu, the exportation amounted to twenty tons. The priests are the chief buyers; they can afford to give more than the other traders, and yet make large profits, so they get nearly all the cotton and oil. On Uvea, where a large quantity of oil is made, they are known, and spoken of by foreigners, as the "oily fathers." On Lifu they have, for some time, refused to purchase the cotton of the Protestants, unless they become Roman Catholics! They doubtless expected that the benefits of a good market would prove a strong and successful bait; but although the Protestants are anxious to take their cotton to the person who will give

them the most for it, be he Roman Catholic or Protestant, priest or layman, they are also determined (as they have abundantly proved since the arrival of the French) to maintain their religious principles and modes of worship; so that the priests have not yet made a single *cotton* convert. Many of the natives now take their cotton to the traders; but most of them still manage, through their Roman Catholic relatives and friends, to sell it to the priests, who certainly give the best price, and are in this way, at least, a benefit to the island, although at the expense of the priesthood and the traders. I have often felt it to be a matter of extreme satisfaction that I am connected with a society that strictly prohibits its missionaries from engaging in any commercial pursuits. None can violate this rule without seriously injuring their reputation, and impairing their usefulness. Let the trader attend to his trading, and the missionary to his teaching.

The natives, in their transitional state, are very fond of imitating Europeans, which, as a general rule, is a very good feature in their character, although, in some cases, it leads to disasters through stupid mistakes. For instance, the heathen on Mare, seeing that the missionaries' children were healthy and strong, asked the servants how they were brought up. They were informed of the peculiarities of European training from the time of birth, and seemed to catch at the idea of the newborn infant being washed in warm instead of cold water; accordingly, it was determined that the next baby should be treated in thorough European style; many of the old

people, as usual, protesting that European customs might be very good for Europeans, but that they would not suit them. The new generation, however, prevailed, considering themselves wiser than their fathers; so the father prepared the hot water for the new arrival. He seemed to think that the hotter the better, and the poor little thing was put into water nearly at the boiling point, and as a natural and sad consequence, was scalded to death. The natives then abandoned the idea of European training, feeling with the old people that their children could not endure it.

The natives soon begin to develop a strong liking for European dress, which they carry to a degree, at once absurd and ludicrous. It has often appeared to me that we are in a somewhat anomalous position, when introducing Christianity to an island; and in our eagerness to see the natives advance in civilisation, we urge them to a course of conduct that we have afterwards to denounce. Not only do they become avaricious, but the clothes they wear, and the mode and time of wearing them, are positively injurious to health. A simple girdle of leaves or calico is much more suitable for natives generally in a tropical climate than European clothing; a white shirt with a fathom of white calico for an *iza* or girdle, is a dress suit, or rather is the most suitable dress suit; for the natives have an idea that they are not dressed until they have their black coat and shoes.

The unsuitableness of the style of dress adopted by some of the Christian natives is observed even by the heathen. I remember being struck with this some years

ago when visiting Tanna in company with some of the missionaries of the New Hebrides group. We were urging the natives to receive a missionary, and they were giving us their reasons for not wishing one. The conversation was carried on in broken English, many of the natives being able thus to express themselves from frequent intercourse with foreigners. "You see," said one knowing fellow, "no good missionary stop Tanna. Suppose missionary stop here, by and by he speak, 'Very good, all Tanna man make a work.' You see that no good: Tanna man he no too much like work. By-and-bye missionary speak, 'No good woman make a work: very good, all man he only get one woman.' You see Tanna man no like that; he speak, 'Very good plenty woman: very good woman make all work.' Tanna man no savé work"—does not know how to work—"he too much lazy; he too much gentleman!" The speaker was a tall, fine-looking, well-built fellow: naked, but painted and decorated in the highest fashion of the land; no doubt he was a prominent character in the Tannese "Swell Mob." His quick eye caught one of our party—a little, unprepossessing, milk and water sort of fellow—dressed, or rather disguised, in what appeared to be the cast-off clothes of some jolly old farmer. "You see," he continued, "suppose missionary stop here, he tell all man, 'Very good, get a clothes.' That no good; very good, white man get a clothes; very good, black man make a paint. Suppose black fellow get a clothes he no look well: you look this fellow, he no look well!" He pointed to our little friend as he said this, and it was impossible for us to retain our

gravity, the contrast was so ridiculously striking. The Tanna man then threw his massive club proudly over his broad shoulder, and strutted away, indignant, no doubt, that we foreigners should try to put such absurd and debasing ideas into their heads.

They profess to be utterly ignorant and indifferent about the future, and in no way enamoured with the requirements of Christianity in the present life; they very much prefer their wild lawless liberty to the restraints imposed by the gospel. The civilisation of which we speak appears to them to be both binding and degrading. They are quite satisfied with the gods which they have, and are determined to live as their fathers lived, and die as they died. Having had a good deal of intercourse with foreigners during the last thirty years (chiefly sandalwooders), and being thoroughly conversant with the injustice and cruelty which these men have perpetrated upon the defenceless natives, they are by no means disposed to embrace the white man's religion; it does not appear to them to be any improvement upon their own. How can we be surprised at all this?

Our lives, on that occasion, were in considerable danger from a party of Tannese who had determined to kill, at least, one of the missionaries, in order to lead us to abandon the idea of locating one there. We found that these fellows had actually been on the point of firing upon us from three different places, but were deterred from fear of shooting some of their friends who were standing with us. Having got this unpleasant piece of information from a native of our party who was watching them,

we thought it prudent to move quietly towards the boats, and only felt safe when clear off. On a subsequent voyage the natives were prevailed upon to allow a missionary to settle amongst them, who has been labouring there ever since.

In missionary work, as in other enterprises, there are, of course, risks and difficulties to be encountered, and these do not arise from the hostility of the natives only, nor yet simply from the diseases peculiar to the country, but also from visiting out-stations and neighbouring islands in open boats. I have myself often been caught in very bad weather, and on two occasions have been nearly lost between the islands.

Perhaps an account of one of these may be interesting, and give the reader some idea of the dangers connected with boating amongst those islands. We had been waiting at the weather side of Lifu for a favourable wind to cross over to Mare, and as it veered round to the west, the boat was launched, and we started. I was simply a passenger. It was the chief's boat; he and fifteen others were going to Mare with a cargo of mats to barter with their neighbours on that island. They had made what they considered every preparation for the voyage. For many miles we smiled at our good fortune. We had a splendid breeze and a smooth sea, and Lifu soon began to look hazy in the distance. But before we sighted Mare the natives began to look serious; the wind was increasing, the sea was rapidly rising, the clouds were blackening, and our little craft was flying over the waves at a fearful rate. Spare ropes were employed to secure

the masts; everything was stowed away snugly; we shortened sail, and anxiously watched the progress of the storm. Soon the crested waves were rising behind and threatening to roll over us; now and then one leapt in as it rolled along the side of the boat, as if to prepare us for what was coming. A native was kept constantly baling the boat, and as the water began to come in pretty freely, I asked a question which I found should have been asked before we started—"Where is the bucket?" They had not brought one. "How many balers have you?" Only the one in use! Then they began, as usual, to blame each other for not taking (as the missionary does in his boat) a bucket and a few calabashes; and I learnt a lesson about never trusting to natives to prepare for a sea voyage.

We were occasionally shipping seas which saturated the native mats, alarmingly increasing the weight of our cargo. I proposed to lighten the boat, but no one spoke. I reminded them of our danger, and of the value of our lives compared with a few mats, and requested the leading man amongst them to show the example by throwing his mats overboard first. This man was one of the chief's advisers, a great talker, and a would-be great man. He was ready enough to take the lead in most things, although not in this; he had probably reckoned what he should get for his mats, and determined what he should do with it, and so clung to the chance of getting to Mare, mats and all.

Our conversation was interrupted by a scream from the chief Bula, and in a moment a tremendous wave

swept right over the boat, causing it to tremble from stem to stern, drenching us, and half filling it with water. For a few seconds we seemed paralysed. "*Jö tim!*" I cried to the fellow who ought to have been baling, and to our dismay he replied, "The baler is gone." The wave had taken it away. There we were, with the boat half full of water, without either bucket or calabash. "Throw every mat overboard instantly," I said, and moved towards them; but they preferred to lighten the boat by jumping overboard themselves, and in an instant a dozen of them were in the sea, some holding on to a rope, others to the side of the boat. Even at such a time I felt inclined to smile at the reluctance of those fellows to part with their mats. Four of us who had hats used them with a will to bale the water out of the boat. Fortunately for us we rose on the waves; had such another swept over us just then, we must have gone down.

After reducing the water a good deal, the natives got into the boat again, we spread a little sail to the wind, and proceeded on our voyage, during the remainder of which we managed to keep the water down with our hats. As we drew near to Mare the natives assembled on the cliffs; they did not expect to see a vessel, much less an open boat, approach on such a day. They swam to the reef to render assistance if necessary whilst entering the small boat passage, and we divested ourselves of some of our garments, and prepared for swimming. We did not feel the force of the wind so much whilst running before it, but when we turned to enter the passage, the wind blew the sail to ribbons. A crowd of natives plunged

into the surf, seized our boat, and drew it into the placid little bay. It was an immense relief to see and hear the raging sea behind us.

A missionary's greatest joys and sorrows, however, (from without) may be traced to the family circle. What trial so great as being called upon to watch the wasting form of a lovely and beloved child, having exhausted your little stock of medical knowledge in vain, and no doctor near? or be obliged (as a missionary on a neighbouring island was) to watch over the grave of a beloved wife and only child, lest the natives should steal the bodies to cook and eat them, no earthly friend being near him. Missionaries, above all others, should be men of sterling piety and strong faith. Being far away from intelligent Christian society, and all those stimulants and encouragements which ministers enjoy at home, they should live *near* to God: upon this really depends their happiness and success.

X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF LAWS—UKENIZO OBJECTS—THE PRIEST'S CODE—POLICY OF THE PRIESTS—HARBOUR DUES—ERRORS NATURAL AT THE COMMENCEMENT—LAWS OPPOSED BY WHITE MEN—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH SOLDIERS—THE CAUSE THAT LED THE FRENCH TO TAHITI THE SAME AS THAT WHICH LED THEM TO LIFU—THE IMPORTANCE OF MISSIONARIES OF DIFFERENT CREEDS HAVING DISTINCT FIELDS OF LABOUR—TACTICS OF THE PRIESTS—THREATS—THE PRIESTS ADOPT ANOTHER PLAN—PROTESTANTS' LOVE FOR THE SCRIPTURES—CHAPEL-BUILDING BY THE PRIESTS—REASONING OF THE PRIESTS.

THE time had now arrived for the establishment of a code of laws on Lifu. Although the influence of the gospel had become sufficiently prevalent to render the application of club law a very rare thing, it was not so universal as to prevent crime. There were on Lifu, as on other islands, a great number who were influenced in their profession of Christianity merely by example, so that no sooner had the powerful excitement produced by the transition from one state of society to another subsided, than they returned to the evil habits in which, from their infancy, they had been trained. The chiefs very naturally asked our advice, and we felt as Mr Williams did, "that there was a necessity laid upon us to act in these affairs; and while we gave them clearly to understand that our objects were purely of a spiritual

character, we were convinced that under existing circumstances, it was as much a duty to direct them in the formation of a code of laws, as it was to instruct them in the principles of christianity itself: for in thus acting, we were simply advising them to apply those principles to social life, and to substitute them for the ferocity and revenge by which all classes had been previously influenced."

A few simple laws were drawn up, and Young Bula assembled all the chiefs and people in the Lösi district, before whom they were published. Officers were appointed in the different villages to investigate minor offences and impose suitable fines or punishment, whilst the supreme court was held at Mu, the residence of the young King Bula. Ukenizo, the king of the western half of the island, objected to the establishment of laws in his district. He, and a number of his followers, although nominally Roman Catholics, were virtually heathens—advocates of club-law—and very unwilling to be placed under the restraints of a code that regarded fighting, stealing, and adultery as crimes. The under chiefs, however, determined that if Ukenizo would not establish them, they themselves would do so in their respective villages, and this led the priest to draw up a code for the king, which he succeeded in persuading him to accept. Seeing that the natives were determined to have laws; and feeling, no doubt, that the administration of them would be a new power in the hands of Ukenizo, and secure a degree of prominence for the Roman Catholics, the priest entered heartily into the project. He called upon us with his

proposed code, over which we had a little friendly discussion, and after a few alterations and additions they were submitted to the king and the people for their approval and adoption. A day was fixed for their publication, at which both the priest and myself were present. The priest, acting for the king, read the laws to the assembled crowd; they were unanimously adopted, and officers appointed as in the Lösi district.

I have mentioned the part which the priest took in the establishment of the laws in the Wet district, because although he appeared anxious to take a conspicuous part in this project when he supposed that it would be for the advantage of Roman Catholicism on the island, he was nevertheless, at a subsequent period, and for the same reason, equally anxious to make it appear to the governor of New Caledonia that the laws had emanated from us. It was a matter of comparative indifference to us from whom they emanated, so long as they were established, and we were neither afraid, nor ashamed to acknowledge to His Excellency a few years afterwards the part which we had taken in their formation in the absence of an administration, seeing that the French had not at that time, taken formal possession of the Loyalty group.

An administration was a new thing to the natives, so that we were not surprised to find them at times, more vigorous than just in enforcing their five laws, or rather their own ideas, for their little code became ludicrously elastic sometimes. For instance, an observant native who had been to Sydney in a trading vessel, noticed that ships there had to pay harbour dues; so that when

he returned and was appointed policeman at a bay twenty-five miles from the king's residence, he did not forget this fact, and upon the arrival of a small schooner from the coast of New Caledonia, he demanded harbour dues from the captain ! It was in vain that he told the natives that they had not done anything to improve the harbour ; in vain did he storm and threaten ; the policeman said to him, " You see, Lifu man got a law now ; Lifu all same Sydney ; all ship go Sydney give money for chief, suppose he no pay him, policeman take him quick ; very good, you make all same here : suppose you no give one piece calico, me take your boat." And sure enough he did take it, and delayed the captain two days until a message was sent to Bula, who sent an order to give up the boat at once, and not to interfere with vessels, as there was no law on that point. The captain reported the matter to the Governor at New Caledonia.

It was perfectly natural that such mistakes should be made at first by such a people. The officers, however, soon became acquainted with their duties, and performed them with a very commendable degree of fidelity and impartiality. The population generally rejoiced in the security of their plantations and property, and in the great diminution of crime. The white men who visited, and the few who were living on Lifu, were by no means disposed to submit to any native laws whatever ; this class of men, who live with the natives on the uncivilised islands in the South Seas, desire what they call liberty, *i.e.*, to go about with revolvers in their belts and do as they please ; which may be liberty to them, but often

subjects others to the vilest oppression. The natives having, on one occasion, tied one of these men to a cocoa-nut tree for a few hours, the others saw that they must either respect the laws or leave the island.

I will now proceed to relate the circumstances which led to the arrival of the soldiers, and the reign of the bayonet on Lifu. It will be evident from what has already been said that Christianity and civilisation were making the most encouraging progress on the island. The whole machinery for the moral, social, and spiritual advancement of the people had been set in successful operation, and we were viewing with delight and thankfulness the transformation that was taking place. Not so, however, the priests, nor yet the French Government at New Caledonia. The former saw only the spread of *heresy*; and the latter, only the spread of *English influence*, so that both were prepared to combine against us. The London Missionary Society's mission had been established on the island, and nearly the whole of the population christianised before the priests made their appearance, or even before the French took possession of New Caledonia. But it is a remarkable fact that where British power or British enterprise have opened a path, there comes the missionary of Rome, to plant his spiritual and mental tyranny; and we know with what sentiments the French Government regard our colonial influence. "No one," writes Wylie, "can have forgotten the massacre at Cochin-China in the spring of 1847, where the Jesuit missionaries, mounted upon the French ships of war, dealt out grape-shot to the inhabitants. Nor is the sad

story of Tahiti forgotten, or ever will. The Jesuits found it a paradise, physically and morally, with a Christianity blossoming there as pure and lovely, perhaps, as ever blossomed on earth. They dethroned its queen, and ravaged the isle with fire and sword, because the inhabitants refused to embrace an idolatry as foul as that from which they had been rescued. Popery is as much the wolf as ever. To see its real dispositions we must not look at it in Europe: we must track it as it prowls along on the frontier of the heathen world.”¹

As the calamity which fell so heavily upon the poor, defenceless Tahitians originated in the envy and intolerance of popery, which could behold, in the astonishing change that took place among that once heathen and barbarous people, only the work of heretics, to be mourned over, counteracted, and destroyed; so may the like calamity which has befallen the Loyalty group be traced to a similar cause. “Our hearts are distressed,” wrote one of the priests, “in approaching Tahiti. The inhabitants of this isle groan under the yoke of heresy:” and, “the august Mary,” adds another, “whom the Church calls the destructress of all heresies; knows well how to annihilate that at Tahiti.”² What is there that a Jesuit will not do to promote the interests of his Church? Mr Ellis, in writing of the events at Tahiti, says: “These

¹ “There exists a papal coin in their [the Jesuits,] honour, as ‘domini canes’—the noble hounds of heretics. The device is, a dog with a lighted torch in his mouth, traversing a globe: the motto,—‘What will I, if it be already kindled?’—‘The Jesuits as they were and are’—*Buller*: (Introduction).

² *Annales*, No 56, p, 234.

events show further, that so potent is the spell by which Popery controls its adherents and supporters, that laws the most needful and salutary, rights the most sacred, justice the most unquestionable, truth the most clear, and the claims of humanity in its most affecting and requiring circumstances are alike disregarded, when the aims of Popery, or the interest of its adherents can be promoted thereby. These and other lessons, though painful, are valuable, and to the Protestant Churches of both hemispheres they will not have been given in vain."

It is to be profoundly regretted, that whilst there are hundreds of islands in the South Seas still shrouded in heathen darkness, the missionaries of different societies propagating different forms of the Christian faith, should come into collision, and thus perplex the natives, and impede the good work already begun. It would surely be more in accordance with the spirit of Christianity, if those who are anxious to promote it would proceed to islands where the name of Jesus has not been heard, rather than settle down amongst a people professing to be His followers, and being instructed in His precepts; such a course can be pleasing only to the Devil who is the author of confusion and conflict.

Upon the arrival of the priests at Lifu, they commenced, as usual, by announcing that the teachers who had preceded them were false, and that they were the true messengers of God; that the natives were all on the road to perdition, and that there was no hope of salvation for them unless they renounced the faith in which

they had been instructed, and placed themselves under the guidance of the priests. These declarations were not peculiar to those days, they are still reiterated, frequently and solemnly, to the Protestants of Lifu; but happily they are as ineffectual as they are false.

When the priests found that the natives were not, in any way, disposed to give credence to their statements and comply with their wishes, they altered their tactics; from suasion and bribery they proceeded to threats. A man-of-war became the bugbear with which they tried to scare the natives. Ukenizo demanded that all his subjects should embrace Roman Catholicism; Bula's subjects had embraced the religion of their chief, why should not his do likewise? This desire of the king's was no new intimation to the people; so the demand being received with the usual indifference, all the under chiefs were charged, by the priests, with insubordination to their chief, and complained of to the Governor at New Caledonia. It was reported that Wainya, the chief of Chepenehe, would be taken prisoner by the captain of the first French ship of war that called at the island; he, however, was the first on board when one arrived. The captain being a warm-hearted, liberal-minded man of science, as well as a man of war, treated Wainya with marked respect, and told the natives that the priests had no right to threaten them with a ship-of-war; that they were at perfect liberty to embrace the Roman Catholic religion or not as they pleased, and advised them to live peaceably, and seek to advance in civilisation. He told me that he had frequently heard

of the priests using such means to intimidate the natives in order to gain converts, and assured me that they had no authority for so doing, and would, by such a course, incur the severe displeasure of the French Government. The visit of this honourable gentleman, in the "Bonite" was accompanied by the most beneficial results upon the minds of the Protestants; they saw that Wainya had not only not been taken prisoner, but that he had been kindly treated by the captain. The priests, finding that the threat of a man-of-war only excited the laughter of the natives, determined to try another plan. They had dwelt upon the differences between Protestantism and Popery. Now they began to speak of the points of similitude, maintaining that, whilst the two forms of faith were much alike in many respects, Roman Catholicism was the easier and safer way to heaven. "They," said a priest, speaking of the missionaries to a Protestant native, "require you to observe religiously the whole of the Sabbath; we only ask you to observe a part of it. They forbid the continuation of a number of your heathen games; our religion does not restrain you from such things. They cannot forgive you when you have sinned; but all who confess to us, we can assure them that they are pardoned." This sort of reasoning secured for them a number of unprincipled fellows, who were ashamed to remain nominal heathens any longer, yet unwilling to abandon their evil habits; but it proved utterly powerless with those who had already embraced the gospel. The Protestants having received portions of the Scriptures in their own dialect, held in undisguised contempt the

medals that were suspended from the necks of the Roman Catholics. "What can those bits of iron tell you?"—they would say to their friends—"they are speechless and useless: our books are our guides, and they tell us much that warms our hearts. You are like a vessel without a compass; the priest blows you where he likes." All that the priests could say in favour of images, pictures, crosses, &c., was lost upon the Protestants; they told him that it was like giving inferior food to his people whilst he kept the yams for himself. The priests were more successful in chapel-building than proselytising. In the Protestant villages, side by side with ours, rose small Roman Catholic chapels, often where they had not half-a-dozen converts, and at some places, where they had not one; these were occupied periodically by the priest and a few of his followers. To see the natives flocking past his door to what he regarded as heretical temples, must have been, to him, a deplorable spectacle. Believing that there is no salvation out of his church, and baffled in his attempts to get the natives into it, he and his *confrères*, no doubt, reasoned as follows:—

"These natives are stubbornly and superstitiously attached to their heretical opinions; for years we have laboured in vain to enlighten and convert them. What is to be done? We must not leave them to perish in their heresy. Yet there is no hope for them unless they are brought into the Church. All means are allowable for so laudable an end; into the Church they must go: if they won't be *drawn by love*, then they must be *driven by force*. Stern means were employed by our forefathers

for the salvation of heretics, and often many have been saved by persecuting a few. The difficulty will be to prevail upon the Governor of New Caledonia to take up our cause ; he will probably say that we have no right to use force in religious matters ; this heresy is spreading so fast amongst our own people that they are even allowing His Holiness the Pope to be quietly robbed of his temporal power. We know that the Governor is jealous of English colonial influence, and especially desirous that the language and customs of France shall predominate in this group ; we must, therefore, represent the English missionaries as acting more like the agents of the British Government than those of a purely religious society, and the natives as being completely under the influence of the missionaries, by whom they have been Anglicised. By this course we may lead the Governor to establish a military station on Lifu, whilst we assure the natives that the soldiers are coming to punish them for not embracing the Roman Catholic religion in accordance with the wish of their King Ukenizo. Thus, whilst the Governor is fighting against English influence, and endeavouring to Frenchify the natives—which we hear he is determined to do—he will, in reality, be forcing them into our Holy Catholic Church.”

That the priests did reason thus, is, by no means, a matter of pure speculation. I judge that they did so from what actually took place ; from my interviews with them on former occasions when they freely expressed sentiments much like the above ; and from statements made to myself by the Governor of New Caledonia, some

time after the occupation of the island. It is well known, however, that the priests wrote a letter to the Government at New Caledonia which was taken by Wenemecingo, the brother of Ukenizo, purporting to be Ukenizo's letter—although he declares that he did not know its contents—requesting the Governor to send soldiers to punish his disobedient subjects. We can only judge of the contents of that letter from the events that took place a few weeks after its delivery.

XI.

THE MORNING ON WHICH THE STEAMER ARRIVED—TROUBLES SELDOM COME SINGLY—LANDING OF THE SOLDIERS—RECEPTION OF THE NATIVES BY THE COMMANDER—OUR VISIT TO THE CAMP—JOY OF THE PAPISTS AT THE ARRIVAL OF THE SOLDIERS—JACK'S APPOINTMENT—HOW HE BECOMES A FAVOURITE—THE FIRST INTERFERENCE WITH OUR WORK—SCHOOLS CLOSED AND CIRCULATION OF BOOKS PROHIBITED—FIRING UPON AN ENGLISH VESSEL—EXCITEMENT OF THE NATIVES—INDEPENDENCE OF THE COMMANDER—COMMANDER PREPARES TO BE ATTACKED—HIS LETTER AND OUR INTERVIEW—THE COMMANDER A DUPE OF THE PRIESTS—THE PRIESTS THE CAUSE OF THE DISTURBANCES—CONSPIRACY—THE PLOT—CLAIMING THE LOYALTY GROUP AS DEPENDENCIES ON NEW CALEDONIA—COPY OF LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR.

ON a fine Sabbath morning, early in May 1864, I was standing upon the verandah of our house in Wide Bay, gazing upon a natural scene of surpassing loveliness. The church bell was ringing for the morning prayer-meeting held at six o'clock, and the natives were answering its call from every part of the village. The sun shone out brightly, dressing nature in its "coat of many colours," and the sea, from the beach to the horizon, appeared like a sheet of glass. It was one of those mild, still, golden mornings among the most charming in the year. As I stood inhaling the freshness and soothed by the peace of that memorable morning, watching the natives threading their way through the cocoanut groves; listening to the monotonous, yet soul-stirring peals of the Sabbath bell, and thinking, with thankfulness, of

the mighty change that had taken place on Lifu, my attention was arrested by the appearance on the horizon of what seemed to be "a little cloud rising out of the sea, like a man's hand." As it rose higher, and grew larger and blacker, I had reason to fear that it was the long threatened man-of-war, a supposition that proved to be correct. Unlike the little cloud seen from the top of Carmel, which foretold an approaching blessing, and filled the spectators with gladness, this phenomenon was like the approach of a pall to be thrown over the land and liberties of the defenceless natives, who stood in groups on the beach, watching the steamer, as it rose like a spectre, from the sea. They knew that Ukenizo and the priests had sent a letter to the Governor of New Caledonia, requesting the location of soldiers at Lifu; they knew also that on New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines those chiefs who had opposed the priests were generally considered and treated as disloyal subjects, some being shot, and others being sent as prisoners to Tahiti; there was, therefore, just cause for anxiety, and even dread, at the prospect of the occupation of Lifu by the French. There were many heavy hearts on that lovely morning, as the vessel came ploughing into the bay, and anchored opposite the priest's house—about a mile and a half from Chepenehe. The captain and officers proceeded at once to select a suitable place for the camp. Having visited the Protestant village whilst we were engaged in the morning service, they decided to establish themselves at Enu, a small village about half a mile from Chepenehe.

Our troubles seldom come singly. Whilst the hand of despotism was laying its iron grasp upon the land and liberties of the peaceful Lifuans, the inexorable messenger of death had entered our happy home, and set his seal upon our youngest child. Anxious to avail ourselves of the medical skill within our reach, I went on board the steamer on Sabbath evening, to solicit the attendance of the doctor. I was kindly received by the captain, who appeared anxious to assure me that he was not, in any way, connected with the expedition, further than having received sealed instructions to land the soldiers at Lifu. I expressed a hope that nothing would arise to disturb the public tranquillity, or impede the moral and social advancement of the natives, to which his only and dubious reply, was a shrug of the shoulders. The doctor at once consented to accompany me home, and do what he could for the child. She died, however, whilst he was on his way back to the ship.

Whilst the arms and baggage of the soldiers were being landed on the following day, and the natives were running to and fro, perplexed and excited, we were calmly committing the remains of our dear little girl to the grave, in the sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection. Her young spirit entered upon a state of pure and endless bliss, just as the natives were being forced into new political relations, and subjected to a system, which has justly merited the epithet, "lawless tyranny."

The population of Chepenehe, headed by their chief Wainya, resolved to take the earliest opportunity of showing their peaceful intentions by presenting them-

selves at the camp, and acknowledging the authority of their new rulers, against whom they knew it was useless to strive; they accordingly, on the afternoon of the same day that the soldiers landed, proceeded to Enu, dressed in their best attire, each taking a yam; arriving near the camp they formed in procession, and marched to the commander's tent, before which they placed the yams in a heap, and then sat down in a semicircle opposite the tent door. The captain of the vessel and the commander of the troops appeared, upon which the chief rose, stated the object of their visit, and presented the token of their submission. This was a fine opportunity for the authorities to make a good impression upon the minds of the natives, had they felt so disposed; they had but to receive them kindly, express their gratification at the progress which they had already made in civilisation, and their willingness to assist them in future; assure them, in turn, of their peaceful intentions, and of the determination of the government not to interfere with their established forms of worship. Since the sequel proves, however, that these were evidently not their intentions, we must at least commend their sincerity in not avowing them. I suppose they felt that *glory* and *honour* were not to be obtained by these peaceful methods. Be that as it may, the commander received the present of the natives with the utmost indifference, spoke to them sternly, ordering them to doff their Sunday attire, and commence at once to erect houses for his men. One of the young men having asked him the usual question, "*Nemene la thupen*" (what will our wages be?) he

became very angry, and told them that those who disobeyed his orders would be put in irons. The natives perceived what they had to expect, and returned to their homes with sorrowful hearts.

My colleague, Mr Sleigh, who occupies the station on the opposite side of the island, being then visiting us, he and I paid a formal visit to the commander on the second day. We were somewhat surprised when introduced to a young officer, of about twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, as *The Commander of the Loyalty Islands!* We soon perceived from his appearance and manner that he was deeply impressed with the dignity of his position; but as he proceeded to inform us that he had conceived the idea of burning down the village of Chepenehe to make an impression upon the natives, and teach them a lesson on prompt obedience, as they had not returned to build his houses; saying that the natives had learnt to obey on New Caledonia, and they must be taught that lesson here, we could not but regret that so responsible a position was not filled by an officer whose prudence was greater than his ambition, and whose love of justice exceeded his thirst for military glory. I did not conceal from him the light in which I viewed his policy, assuring him that such a rash, severe, unprovoked, and unjust course of procedure would probably be attended with consequences as fatal as the step was impolitic. I explained to him that the natives could not reasonably be expected to return before the following day, as they had first to go inland to their plantations for food, and then to a considerable distance for grass suitable for thatch.

He did not make any reference to the object of the expedition, nor yet to our position in the group. He returned our visit on the following day.

The steamer remained a week, to assist with her guns and men should the commander require them; after which, finding that the natives were disposed to be peaceful and obedient, the captain returned to New Caledonia. Before he left, the soldiers were all comfortably lodged in houses erected by the natives, and coral was being burnt for the construction of a lath-and-plaster cottage for the commander.

Ukenizo and the Roman Catholics were rejoicing at the arrival of the soldiers, whom they regarded and represented as their *enemus* (friends), come at their request to punish the disobedient and obstinate Protestants. The native selected by Ukenizo to remain with the soldiers as a medium of communication between the commander and the natives, was one of the four whom we brought with us from Raratonga in 1859, of whom I have already spoken. "Jack" (his name) was the chief speaker. I remember, at Raratonga, when Mr Gill asked them (the Lifu men) at evening prayers why Jesus Christ came from heaven, Jack instantly replied, "To die for all kanacka man, sir." Mr Gill gave him a very good character for the time that they had been there, and hoped that Jack would, as he promised, show his gratitude to those who had saved him from slavery by becoming a consistent and humble follower of Him who came "to die for all kanacka man." Jack professed to have great influence over his uncle Ukenizo, and was very

angry when he heard that he had embraced Roman Catholicism, declaring that when he arrived at Lifu he would soon lead his uncle to see his folly and become a Protestant. He had not been long returned, however, when he took to himself five or six wives, and very soon became a notorious scoundrel. I may here say that the other three turned out well. One died a few years ago, and the other two are now active members of the church.

Jack soon became a favourite at the camp: he possessed the qualifications which, it became evident, are indispensable in those whom the officers and soldiers delight to honour. Nominally a Roman Catholic, although really a vile, religionless tyrant, he professed the Creed and followed the practice of his superiors. The intelligent and pious were looked upon as *Anglicised*, and treated as disloyal subjects. To obtain concubines for the officers and revile the missionaries was, and is still, considered the best sign of loyalty; hence the paucity of loyal subjects on Lifu. Jack, however, is more hypocritical than loyal: his dread of the kalaboose, combined with his fondness for wine and tobacco, lead him to say or do anything that will please the authorities; but then he is as ready to serve others when it is to his advantage.

We were permitted to continue our labours as usual for about three weeks. During this period the natives had peacefully obeyed every order of the commander, and shown a disposition to at least submit quietly to an authority against which it would have been folly to rebel. He must have perceived, however, during those three weeks, that the natives were firmly attached to their

adopted forms of faith; and that although they had offered no resistance to the planting of the French flag, nor yet to his demand for labour without remuneration, it might be otherwise were he to interfere with what they regarded with an almost superstitious reverence. The commander had already manifested an unmistakable impetuous desire for military action, hoping, no doubt, thereby to gain distinction and honour; and he appears to have arrived at a similiar conclusion to the Babylonian princes with reference to Daniel: "We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God." Such an occasion presented itself at the time of which I write. An English trading vessel arrived with two cases of books printed in the native dialect, sent on by Mr Creagh from Mare, where our printing-press for the group is established. The captain being ignorant of the occupation of the island by the French, and unaccustomed to show his flag whilst coming into the bay, was surprised to receive a volley from the soldiers as he sailed past the village where the camp was situated, on his way to the anchorage. The commander had not a cannon, and so had recourse to his muskets, which were perfectly harmless at the distance. This brave stripling talked to the captain about taking his vessel the next time he came in without showing his flag! Two days afterwards I received an official letter from the commander strictly forbidding the distribution of all books in the native language, and demanding the immediate cessation of all public instruction; stating that I had not received permission from the Government to

conduct schools and distribute books amongst the natives! and that permission could only be obtained from the governor of New Caledonia, who would require me to conform to the decree published in the *Moniteur* in Oct. 1863. This decree, of which I was ignorant, not only requires those conducting schools amongst the natives to teach the French language, but to make it the *sole medium* of communication in the schools. The dialects of the natives were to be abolished! The priests on New Caledonia closed their schools rather than conform to such a law. I replied on the same day in a brief note, informing the commander that I had closed the Institution and sent messengers to the teachers telling them to close their schools, and reminding him that the schools which he had closed had been in operation *more than twenty years*; stating also that we had not received any intimation that those in the Loyalty group were expected to conform to laws emanating from New Caledonia.

The natives were very indignant when they heard of this new order of the commander. The news spread through the island with astonishing rapidity, and on the following day several hundreds of natives had arrived from other villages in a very excited state. This can scarcely be wondered at. The cold freezing hand of despotism and Popery had laid its iron grasp upon what the natives esteemed highly and held dearly. The Institution, whence they hoped to receive teachers and pastors, was closed. The Bible, the enemy of darkness, despotism, and Popery, their solace and guide, was forbidden them. And schools, in which they had hoped

that their children would be rendered intelligent, useful, and happy, were prohibited ; and not only so, but we were informed by the doctor that the governor was determined to enforce the observance of the Sabbath at Lifu as in France, as our mode of observing that day was hateful to all Frenchmen.

A month had not elapsed since the arrival of these twenty-five soldiers, yet their impetuous commander had done more to excite the hostility of the natives than a more prudent and peaceful man would have done in six months with twice the number of men ; for it cannot be supposed that the governor had ordered him, in addition to taking possession of the island and compelling the natives to work without remuneration, to close all the schools and prohibit the circulation of books within a month after his arrival : this was presuming rather too much upon the peaceful disposition of the natives. He had doubtless received orders to accomplish what he had done, but he was rather impatient to execute them, unless he really sought to excite the natives to resistance.

Hearing that a number of natives were assembled at Chepenehe, many of whom were armed, the commander prepared for an attack upon the French camp, which he had reason to fear. The natives were certainly enraged and using menacing language, and I had some difficulty in prevailing upon them to abandon their intention of, as they said, sweeping the soldiers into the sea, and return to their homes, which they did, however, without going near the camp. On the same day I received a

letter from the commander requiring *me* (!) to disperse the natives assembled at Chepenehe, stating that he would hold me responsible for disturbing the public peace! I answered this letter in person: told him that as a minister of the gospel of peace I should always endeavour to prevent a collision between the soldiers and the natives, but that he must not suppose that he could hold *me* responsible for the consequences of his own acts; that it was easier to inflame the passions of the natives than pacify them; and that his untimely and despotic order forbidding the distribution of the two cases of books which the natives had long been anxiously waiting for, and the decree closing their schools, was quite sufficient to account for the assembling of the natives and their hostile attitude at Chepenehe. He spoke of the Protestants as being disloyal and rebellious, and no doubt wrote in strong terms to the governor against them, which is evident from the course which his Excellency pursued. This may find a sufficient explanation in the fact that the commander was afterwards regarded by his fellow-officers as the dupe of the priests, with whom he had been in close communication when at Lifu. His comrade, when commander of the Loyalty islands at a subsequent period, assured me of this; and the governor himself told me that he regarded the priests as the instigators of the whole affair. I know that the priests have been unwearied in their efforts to lead the authorities to the conclusion that the natives, to be loyal, must be Roman Catholic; it is not our differences of faith, therefore, that lead us to regard them as one of the causes

of the disturbances in the Loyalty group. They may be conscientious in the use of the means which they employ to destroy Protestantism both in the Loyalty group and throughout the world, but surely their pretended "zeal for the Church" will not cover and atone for the atrocities of the priesthood before a righteous God. At Tahiti they solicited and obtained the aid of the French Government to establish themselves on the island, whereas in the Loyalty group they were allowed to intrude and prosecute their labours unmolested upon ground which the London Missionary Society had occupied since 1841. They were permitted to erect churches side by side with ours, and proselytise wherever they could. Why could they not rest satisfied with an *open field and no favour*, and prove the verity of the well-known proverb, *Magna est veritas, et prævalebit*, by overcoming Protestant error by the force of Popish truth? From the centre to the circumference of the Roman Catholic world may be seen the same spirit of dependence upon the secular power. Christ says to His followers, "Without me ye can do nothing." Popery says to the secular power, "Without *you* we can do nothing." French bayonets are not only required at Rome, but even on the small islands of the South Seas the priests cannot get on without them.

During the interval between the commander's despatch to New Caledonia and the governor's arrival at Lifu, there arose a very dangerous conspiracy, which, had it been executed, must have proved terribly disastrous, both to the handful of soldiers at Enu, and ultimately

to the natives, who would have been mown down by the infuriated French. I had told the natives when assembled at Chepenehe, that the best thing they could do was quietly to await the arrival of the governor from New Caledonia, who, I felt sure, would allow me to reopen the Institution and the schools, and also give permission to circulate the portions of the New Testament which had just come from Mare; this led them to return peaceably to their homes, and until the arrival of the governor there was perfect tranquillity throughout the island.

It appears that the soldiers appointed to guard the camp at night were in the habit of getting natives of the village of Enu, with whom they were friendly, to take their places whilst they went to sleep; these natives were subjects of Wainya, chief of Chepenehe. One night we were aroused by a gentle tap at our bedroom window; but as this is no very unusual thing, we were not surprised. Upon opening the door I found one of the young men from the village trembling with excitement; he informed me that the chief and a number of picked men were going down to the camp to kill all the soldiers! "Going down to be killed, you mean," I said. But as he entered hurriedly into particulars, I became alarmed, perceiving that it was a more serious affair than I had at first thought, and fearing that I might not be able to prevail upon them to abandon their perilous project. The soldiers, it appears, were all asleep, and the camp was in the hands of their friends, the native guards, who had sent a message to their chief at

Chepenehe, telling him that now was the time to rid the island of their oppressors. It seems that the subject had been talked over before by the principal men of the village, and they had determined that when a favourable opportunity presented itself, they would massacre the soldiers already here, and endeavour to prevent the landing of any more. Not a soul knew anything of their intentions besides those concerned in the plot, and they had resolved not to let me know lest I should dissuade them from it. One of them had been down to the camp; he saw that all were asleep, that their arms could easily be obtained, and that a few men for each house was all that was required. Each man had his position assigned to him, and at a given signal they were simultaneously to fall upon the occupants of each house. They were armed and on their way to the camp when this young man persuaded the others to allow him to inform me, and bid me good-bye, feeling, as he said, that he might not see me again. I told him how glad I was that he had come, yet how distressed I was to hear of their folly and madness. I endeavoured as briefly as possible to make him comprehend the probable consequences of their rashness, showing him that no good could possibly come out of so sanguinary an expedition, but that it must be attended with immeasurable evil whether they were successful or not. At first he assured me that their decision was irrevocable; but when he began to see that they themselves must inevitably suffer, and be the means of plunging the island into the horrors of a devastating war, he ran off and joined his party, who

were waiting for him a little beyond the village. After a little consultation, all quietly returned to their homes, and went early to their plantations next morning, as if nothing had occurred during the night. Although everything appeared to favour their purpose, I am too well acquainted with the bungling of natives to suppose that they could have accomplished it. The soldiers would doubtless have awoke before they were disabled by the tomahawks of the natives, and even in that struggle I fear the latter would have suffered most; but one shudders to think of the terrible retribution from the hands of the French, judging from their treatment of the natives on New Caledonia.

During my interview with the commander at Enu, he maintained that the Loyalty group were dependencies on New Caledonia, and had consequently become French territory when they took possession of that island; thus preparing the way for attacking the legality of our position, seeing that we had not obtained permits of residence from the French authorities. I said, that whilst we regarded the Isle of Pines and the small islands near New Caledonia as its legitimate dependencies, we were not aware that the Loyalty group could be considered as such, seeing that they were physically, geographically, philologically, and politically distinct, and that the authorities at New Caledonia had not until now informed us that they so regarded them. Being anxious, however, to avoid complications with the Government at New Caledonia, I drew up and forwarded to his Excellency the governor the following letter:—

CHEPENEHE, WIDE BAY, LIFU,
May 31st, 1864.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF NEW CALEDONIA
AND DEPENDENCIES.

SIR,—The following is a letter of explanation relative to our position in these islands, which it appears desirable to lay before your Excellency, as we regret to learn that we have unintentionally incurred the displeasure of your Government by prosecuting our evangelistic labours on this group of islands without having obtained your permission. Before calling in question our loyalty, or the purity of our motives, we wish you to understand distinctly the circumstances of the case.

We are the agents of the London Missionary Society, which commenced the work of evangelisation and civilisation on this group of islands in 1841. [Teachers were placed on New Caledonia at the same time.] At a subsequent period the French Government took possession of "New Caledonia and its dependencies." But as the work of the London Missionary Society had proceeded steadily and uninterruptedly in the Loyalty group, we upon our arrival unhesitatingly proceeded to carry on the work, not apprehending any obstacles from your Government, as no formal possession had been taken of these islands, nor yet had a representative of your Government been located or your laws made public here.

On the 2d inst. the French flag was planted upon this island and a representative of your Government located here, to whom we immediately presented ourselves, acknowledging his authority. The first act of interference with the operations of the London Missionary Society occurred on the 25th inst. On that day the commandant sent to the Protestant missionary (myself) at Wide Bay an official letter requiring the immediate cessation of all public instruction, and strictly forbidding the distribution of all books in the native language, intimating the serious consequences of disobedience. This order was immediately complied with, as we daily anticipated the opportunity of laying our case before your Excellency.

It is to us a source of profound regret that the government of this group should have been commenced by placing restrictions upon those agencies to which these natives are so greatly indebted for their present improved condition, and which have rendered life

and property secure throughout the island. The natives are quite reconciled to surrender their land without a struggle, and have evinced their willingness even to labour for the Government without remuneration ; but, like other nations, they cleave with surprising tenacity to their established forms of faith and worship. They have been taught to set a high value upon instruction and the sacred Scriptures ; therefore, to close the native seminary, whence they hope to receive teachers and pastors—also all public schools, in which they have been accustomed to receive moral, religious, and secular instruction—and to prohibit the circulation of all books in the native language, is a course of procedure which they regard as a blow aimed directly at their dearest and long-cherished interests ; consequently we fear that this act, if carried out, will ultimately lead to deeds of cruelty and blood. Such a result would be deeply to be deplored, and lamented by none more than ourselves ; yet we confide in the honour, wisdom, moderation, and benevolence of your Government to secure the secular, moral, and religious advancement of these natives, and to allow the agents of the London Missionary Society to continue their labours in their respective spheres.

Receive, Monsieur, the expression of my distinguished regards,

S. M'FARLANE.

XII.

UNWORTHINESS OF THE OBJECT OF THE EXPEDITION—INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR—LETTER TO THE COMMANDER ASKING FOR A PERMIT OF RESIDENCE—TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT AT NEW CALEDONIA DEFINING OUR POSITION—VILLAGE INSPECTED BY THE COLONIAL SECRETARY—THREATENS A NATIVE TEACHER—INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF, WAINYA.—REPORT CIRCULATED THAT THE VILLAGE OF CHEPENEHE WAS TO BE BURNT—ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY SOLDIERS LANDED ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE ISLAND—THE GOVERNOR AND SOLDIERS AT CHEPENEHE—THE VILLAGE PLUNDERED—UNTIMELY REJOICING OF THE NATIVES—MORE RUMOURS.

ON the 21st of June 1864 two steamers appeared at the south head of Wide Bay. Had they been in quest of the Peruvian slavers, who were at that time depopulating islands and leaving fatherless children, husbandless wives, and desolate homes in the South Seas, their object would have been commendable; but, alas! they were not coming to *unslave* but *enslave* the weak and defenceless natives. Had the Loyalty group presented any of those features of prospective commercial importance which usually lead civilised nations to seize the territories of the barbarous, the attempt to develop the resources of the islands would have mitigated the injustice of their seizure. With a view to colonisation, however, the Loyalty group is utterly valueless. A scientific French gentleman, employed by the Government to explore the islands, writes, after describing the

physical character of the islands, "*La France doit s'assimiler et non coloniser les îles Loyalty.*" What they hope to gain by the assimilation of the natives it is hard to say. Even should they succeed in destroying "English influence," and propagating that of the French, which is their avowed aim, surely there is a strange contrast between the meanness of the object and the severity of the means employed to accomplish it. What glory will it add to France, or what addition would it have been to the happiness of the Emperor Napoleon, to know that a few thousands of semi-barbarous natives had been taught to utter, on his fête-day, the (to them) meaningless cry, "Vive l'Empereur!"? And what advantage will it be to the nation to have annexed to New Caledonia three small coral islands that can only be a burden and an expense to the Government? 'Tis enough for the Christian missionary that *souls* are there, but governments generally look for something more material.

The tricolor floating from the foremast of one of the steamers informed us that the governor was on board, whither I proceeded as soon as it came to anchor. I was received by his Excellency in his official dress, in the presence of the colonial secretary (his bosom friend and able associate in the government of the colony), his private secretary, and an interpreter, with the accustomed formality. I was asked to state the object of my visit. I replied that I had come to present myself to the superior authority of the colony on his arrival at Lifu, and to ask if he had received a letter which I had recently forwarded to him. He said that it had not arrived when

he left Noumea, and desired me to give him an idea of its contents, which I did. He then asked me how I considered the Loyalty group politically distinct from New Caledonia. Because, I replied, the chiefs of New Caledonia have never exercised authority here, nor yet have the French since their occupation of that island until the 2d of last month, and the natives have a political system of their own. Yes, he said; but who led them to form their present political system? Where did their small code of laws—of which he had a copy—originate? I told him that I had no desire to conceal the fact that we missionaries had advised the natives in this matter, and that in the absence of an administration we felt it to be our duty to promote so desirable an object. Did I not know, he continued, that we were on French territory, and that we had no right here without a permit of residence? I maintained, what has been already stated, that we were merely *carrying on* a work which the agents of the London Missionary Society had commenced *more than twenty years ago*; that a group of islands physically, geographically, philologically, and politically distinct from another can scarcely be called their dependencies; that we could not be justly charged with violating their laws, because there can be no disobedience to a command which is not known, and laws are not supposed to be known in a colony until they are published there: consequently, as the French flag had not been planted on the group more than a month, nor any French laws made known at Lifu, we did not consider it our duty to ask from the Government of New

Caledonia a permit of residence. I reminded his Excellency that since the 2d of the previous month I had promptly obeyed the commands issued by the representative of his Government located at Enu. He then asked me in what light I regarded the occasional visits of French Government vessels. I answered, in the same light as I regarded those from New South Wales—as the friendly visits of a powerful neighbour. Was I not aware that in 1858 a Government vessel from New Caledonia had landed two priests and two head of cattle for the chief of Wet? I said that I was, but that we had not been taught to recognise either priests or cattle as representatives of the French Government. He said that it was useless arguing the point; the islands had become French territory when they took possession of New Caledonia, and that I had not edified him much by my attempts to prove them otherwise. I begged to remind him that my object was not to endeavour to prove that the islands were not until the 2d of the previous month French territory, so much as to assign reasons for *our* not regarding them as such, and seeking permission from New Caledonia to carry on our evangelistic labours in the group. He then proceeded to find fault with the English appearance of everything around him. The natives spoke the English language; imitated the English flag in their canoes; preferred dresses of the national colour; and even this book (producing a common pennymemorandum-book) in which their laws are written has *red* covers! It was with difficulty that I retained my gravity at the enumeration of such grave offences!

I merely said, that I hoped his Excellency did not attach much importance to such trivial matters; that they were easily accounted for apart from the influence of the English missionaries, considering the frequent intercourse of the natives with English vessels, and their occasional visits to the Australian colonies; that we had not attempted to teach the English language on Lifu, feeling that, in the present state of the natives, we could convey more information through the medium of their own; and that they had a preference for *red* simply because it was a gay colour. He next complained of the natives using the disrespectful term “Wewe” to designate the French, whilst other Europeans were called foreigners. I replied that the use of the term was not peculiar to the Loyalty group; nor did the natives, as far as I knew, intend it as a disrespectful term. It was certainly the name generally applied to Frenchmen, but had arisen, I supposed, from their frequent use of *oui, oui*, in conversation. I was then told that if I wished to remain on the island, I had better make my position legal as soon as possible, by applying to the commander of the group for a permit of residence, and purchasing land. I returned home and at once wrote the following letter:—

CHEPENEHE, LIFU, *June 21st, 1864.*

TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE LOYALTY ISLANDS.

SIR,—The Government of New Caledonia having taken possession of this island, and located you here as its representative, whose laws and regulations I desire to observe, I now ask the permission of your Government—

1. To allow me to continue my residence upon this island, relying upon the honour of your Government to protect myself, my family, and my property.

2. To have secured to me the piece of land which I purchased from the chief, Wainya, of Chepenehe, for the sum of fifty-six dollars ; also the houses which I have had erected thereon.
3. To be allowed to continue my labours as a missionary of the Protestant religion, by preaching, conducting schools in the native language, and instructing the natives to the extent of my ability in a knowledge of the useful arts.

I merely ask permission to be allowed to pursue a course which has not only raised the natives of this island to their present improved condition, but which is highly calculated to render them loyal, peaceful, intelligent, and happy.

I remain, Sir, yours most sincerely,

S. M'FARLANE.

The commander, in acknowledging the receipt of the above, informed me that his Excellency the governor would consider the demands of my letter in council at New Caledonia. Perhaps I had better here insert the reply which I received about six weeks afterwards, as it defines our position. The following is a translation :—

NEW CALEDONIA AND DEPENDENCIES,
COLONIAL OFFICE, No. 296.

PORT-DE-FRANCE, *July 15th, 1864.*

SIR,—The commander of the post at Lifu having transmitted to his Excellency the governor your letter of the 29th of last month, I have the honour to be deputed to answer the demands which you there make, and for distinctness I will follow the order of numeration.

1. *Authorisation to continue to reside on Lifu, relying upon the honour of our Government to protect you, also your family and your property.*

Being the subject of a friendly nation, you can continue to reside on Lifu ; but, as you say in your letter, you will be submitted to colonial laws, rules, and regulations ; also to our tribunals in case of any infraction of the rules which determine the conduct of citizens, and which must be observed throughout New Caledonia and its dependencies. Upon this condition your family will be protected like the families of the French.

2. *To be assured of the land which you have bought from the chief, Wainya, of Chepenhe, for the sum of fifty-six dollars, also of the houses which you have had constructed thereon.*

According to the terms of the declaration of January 20th, 1855, published also in the journals of New South Wales, the acquisition of land by gift, sold, or exchanged on the part of the natives, is not valid ; but you can become definite proprietor of the land which you occupy by purchasing it from the administration. The price of a hectare in the Loyalty group cannot be less than twenty-five francs. The limit of the land must be thirty-one metres from the sea-coast.

3. *To continue your labours as missionary of the Protestant religion, by preaching, conducting schools in the native language, and instructing the natives in a knowledge of the useful arts.*

You are interdicted from acting as a missionary of the Protestant religion until the arrival of the decision of the Metropolitan Government, to which the governor has written on the subject. No religious mission can exist in the French colonies without the express authorisation of his Majesty the Emperor ; and, moreover, none but French subjects are allowed to exercise religious functions.

About the conducting of a school or schools, the primary instruction is fixed in New Caledonia and its dependencies by an order of the 15th Oct. 1863, to which every person opening a school must conform. Now, one of the prescriptions of this order absolutely excludes the native dialects from the course of instruction, whilst the study of the French language occupies the first place.

The Colonial Government is not less desirous than others to facilitate the moral and intellectual amelioration of the natives, but it must, first of all, take the necessary measures for the natives to receive a national education, which alone can render them loyal, peaceful, intelligent, and happy.

In consequence of the answers* developed above, if you lawfully acquire the land which you occupy, a carte of residence will be accorded to you ; but the fact of your being an English subject ought to give you the assurance that the authorisation to exercise the functions of a minister of religion will not be granted to you. Yet you can be allowed to open a school when you have fulfilled the conditions of the order of the 15th Oct. last.

Receive, Monsieur, the assurance of my distinguished considerations.

(Signed) A. MATHIEU.

On the second day after the governor's arrival we

were visited by the colonial secretary and two officers, who requested me to show them every part of the village. I did so, beginning with the Institution buildings on the mission premises. They appeared interested in the workshop, where they saw carpenters' benches, turning-lathe, and forge; also clothes-chests, stools, &c., made by the natives which were exchanged for yams and other kinds of food, and so nearly made the Institution self-supporting. In the village I noticed that they observed particularly the position of the public roads, inquiring anxiously if they were *narrow* inland; if the natives were numerous about Chepenehe; what sort of weapons they had been accustomed to use in their wars; if they had any muskets and powder, &c. &c. These questions raised my suspicions about the object they had in view. As we were returning we met one of the Raratongan teachers. (Upon the arrival of the steamers, all the native teachers very naturally, but very foolishly, came to Chepenehe.) The colonial secretary, who had been many years at Tahiti, asked him, in the language of that people, if he were a native teacher; being answered in the affirmative, he shook his finger and head at him in a very peculiarly significant manner. I learnt afterwards that he supposed the native teachers had brought evil reports of the French from the eastern islands. We called at the chief's, who had recently removed into his new house—a lath-and-plaster building, erected on a stone foundation raised about four feet from the ground; boarded throughout, glass folding-doors opening upon a spacious verandah that encircles

the house ; furnished with an English bedstead, table, sofa, chairs, and even pictures, which of course gave it quite a European appearance, although not more English, perhaps, than French. The fact that Wainya's father-in-law was an English, or rather an Irish carpenter, will sufficiently account for the superiority of his house. The carpenter's daughter had been brought up among the islands, and having seen little of European society, was elated at the idea of becoming the wife of so distinguished a chief. Her father thought that it would be advantageous to him to have such a son-in-law, and so readily consented to the union. One of the officers, who was accustomed to the broken English of the natives, asked Wainya, rather sharply, "What for you no go see governor?" to which he replied, "Because me too much afraid." "What for you afraid?" he demanded. "You see," said Wainya, "plenty man belong Ukenizo speak me. Suppose me go board ship, me no come shore again ; governor make me fast." Had Wainya had the courage of his brother, the former chief, who died two years before, he would not have hesitated to meet the governor or anybody else. I told the officers that reports were circulated by the Roman Catholics highly calculated to arouse the suspicions and fears of the Protestants. Ukenizo was on board when they returned. In the evening he stated confidently to some of the Chepenehe natives, that he had heard on board that the soldiers were going on the following day to burn down their village, and kill all who refused to become Roman Catholics ! However absurd this

appeared to us, it was implicitly believed by the natives. In vain I assured them that the French would not injure them without a sufficient cause; the excitement increased. I then wrote to the commander at Enu, informing him that the natives had given credence to certain reports about the intention of the governor to burn their village on the following day, and earnestly solicited a note from which I might assure them of the peaceful intentions of the French. The native returned without a reply, and this was an evil omen in the estimation of the natives, who forthwith determined to secrete their boxes, and hide themselves in the bush.

One of the steamers left that evening: it went out at the south head of the bay, as if going to New Caledonia; but we found afterwards that it went round to the north side of the island, and landed one hundred and twenty soldiers, who at once commenced their march towards Chepenehe, to which place the steamer returned. On the following morning about one hundred and fifty soldiers—a number of whom were *disciplinaires*—were landed at Chepenehe. All armed, and headed by the governor and his staff, they marched through the village, two large field-pieces being drawn after them. Before such an array of arms and fighting men the natives very naturally retired and hid themselves in the bush close by; this, however, the governor considered a hostile act, for which they were made to suffer severely on the following day. Arriving at an open space at the head of the village, the soldiers formed a circle around the governor and his staff, whilst his Excellency declared the island to be

French ; forbade the natives to give subscriptions to the London Missionary Society, or to take any food to the missionary unless they were paid for it, or to go to him for advice. They were to regard the commander as their king, and go to him in all cases of difficulty. Having made these proclamations, the soldiers proceeded to plunder the village, entering every house and destroying what property was left behind ; cutting up the women's bonnets with their pocket-knives, smashing boxes, wash-tubs, bottles, even hand-saws, indeed everything that came in their way. Coming to the native teacher's house (a Raratongan); they found him sitting on his box to protect his clothes ; he was ejected, however, at the point of the bayonet, and all he had taken before his eyes. About thirty Roman Catholics accompanied the soldiers, and were as active as they in plundering. The work of pillage being completed, all returned to the boats ; the two field-pieces again went rumbling through the village, followed by a case of ammunition. When all had embarked, and were safely off, the natives, who had seen all although themselves unseen, poured out from their hiding-places shouting for joy, supposing that the crisis was over, and that now they were safe. From the boats they could easily be seen and heard, and doubtless this circumstance led the governor to decide upon the course which he pursued on the following morning. The natives soon became convinced that their rejoicing was premature. The soldiers were not leaving the island, but only the village, to which they could easily return. Had the natives taken my advice, they would have

quietly awaited the arrival of the governor at the village, and thus, perhaps, have averted the impending evil; they were under the impression, however, that the governor wished to take their chief, and they were determined not to give him up. Under the circumstances, we cannot wonder at their decision. It is to be deplored that the governor did not take a more peaceful method of seeking an interview with the natives; but in that case he would not have made an "impression," which a subsequent commander assured me it was necessary to do when commencing to govern the blacks. Do not missionaries also make an "impression"?

During the following night the Roman Catholic friends and relatives of some of the people of Chepenehe arrived from the camp at Enu, where they professed to have learnt that it was decided to attack and burn the village of Chepenehe early next morning. Again there was excitement, and preparation to leave. On this occasion the natives decided to go to inland stations, and there remain until the soldiers had left the island. They believed that their village would be burnt, and so with sorrowful hearts reluctantly left their homes.

XIII.

THE ATTACK ON THE VILLAGE BY THE FRENCH—CHURCH DOORS BURST OPEN DURING SERVICE BY THE SOLDIERS—CONGREGATION MADE PRISONERS—NATIVES FIRED UPON BY THE SOLDIERS—A SOLDIER SHOT BY A NATIVE—COLLISION OF THE NATIVES AND SOLDIERS INLAND—WORK OF DEVASTATION CARRIED ON—TEACHERS PUT IN IRONS—NATIVES PUT TO THE BAYONET IN CHURCH—THE PRESENCE OF ENGLISH MISSIONARIES MERELY TOLERATED AS ENGLISH RESIDENTS—LIFU PLACED IN A STATE OF SIEGE—OUR HOUSE SURROUNDED BY SOLDIERS AND SEARCHED—SERVANTS PUT IN IRONS—PROPERTY OF THE L. M. S. BURNED—VILLAGE BURNED—CHURCH TURNED INTO A BARRACK—BURNING OF INLAND VILLAGES—SICK MAN CLUBBED TO DEATH BY THE R. C. NATIVES—TEACHERS' WIVES AND FEMALE SERVANTS TAKEN ON BOARD THE STEAMER—THE MISSION-HOUSE TO BE TURNED INTO A FORT—DREARY NIGHTS, DEATH AND DESOLATION—THE WORK ARRESTED—MISUNDERSTANDING—LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR—INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR—A JESUITICAL TRANSLATION OF A LETTER—THE OLD QUESTION OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE—THE PRIEST'S INTERVIEW WITH THE TEACHERS—THE PROTESTANT CHIEF DEPOSED AND A R. C. SET UP IN HIS PLACE.

“THE sun was risen upon the earth when Lot entered Zoar,” his place of refuge. Alas for the poor natives of Chepenehe on that fatal Friday morning! They did not expect an *early* visit from the French. So the sun arose and beheld them still lingering about their homes. We are accustomed to hold one of our weekday services at sunrise on Friday morning. I hesitated on that day about having the bell rung, considering the unsettled state of the natives. Feeling, however, that the wisest course would be to continue my labours as usual until

interrupted, and seeing that the teachers and their wives were assembled at Chepenche, and that probably some of the natives would join us, the bell was rung, and we assembled. The congregation numbered about fifty, the proportion of male and female being about equal. We were engaged in the first prayer, which was being offered by the veteran Tui, the oldest teacher on the island, when the church doors were burst open and a company of soldiers rushed in. I heard the trampling of their feet and the clanking of their arms, but did not raise my head nor open my eyes. Tui made but a momentary pause, then proceeded calmly, though with a tremulous voice, with his prayer. Hearing them ascending the aisle and approaching the reading-desk, I expected every moment to feel a hand upon my shoulder; our attitude and composure, however, proved to be the most powerful form of resistance, for by this alone they were checked and repulsed. When Tui concluded his prayer a few minutes afterwards, I found that the soldiers had retired, and were guarding the doors and windows, around which a little forest of bayonets were glittering in the morning sun. We calmly proceeded with the service. I gave out a hymn, which we sung: I then read portions of God's Word, and concluded with prayer. It was difficult, and perhaps not very profitable, to continue a service amidst the chattering of the soldiers. We had driven them out of the church by our silence, now they appeared determined to overcome us by their talk. While concluding the service we were startled by the report of muskets in the village and the hallooing of natives, which plainly

indicated that some of the latter had been fallen upon before they could get away. I proposed to our little congregation to lead the way, that I might learn the intentions of those guarding the church. I was not interrupted, but was the only one allowed to pass—the congregation were kept prisoners. There being no officer in sight, and knowing that it was useless to ask any explanation from the soldiers, I proceeded at once to see how matters were at home. On my way thither I heard the natives shouting “*Ihwa! ihwa!*” (To the bush! to the bush!) and every now and then the report of a musket. We found afterwards that, as we suspected, a number of natives who were lingering behind had been fallen upon by the soldiers as they were leaving the village, and four of them were shot besides a good many being wounded. The soldiers that attacked the village of Chepenehe were divided into two parties. One came along the sea-coast until near the village, then crept stealthily to the back of the mission premises, jumped over the fence, ran down our garden, out at the front gate, and into the church, which was close by. Finding that there were but few natives there, a few were left to guard the doors and windows, and the rest rushed up the village, where they found the natives of whom I have spoken. The other company were led by “Jack” from the camp at Enu by a circuitous course, which brought them into the public road that leads from Chepenehe inland at a point about a mile beyond the village. The natives attacked from the sea-coast must run along this road; and the object of the expedition led by Jack was doubtless

to meet them, in which case the poor creatures would have found themselves between two companies of soldiers, which would certainly have given the French the opportunity of making an "impression" upon them. Happily, however, they were too late: the natives had passed this point before they came up, and were on their way to inland stations. Three young men lurked behind; they had been to Sydney and on board ships many years, and so were more "Anglicised" than their brethren. These young fellows had, according to their own story, secreted themselves in the bush near the village with a loaded gun after their friends had left, and were watching their opportunity to shoot some Frenchman. When the soldiers led by Jack passed near them, they fired, and shot one of them dead on the spot. Although the soldiers immediately poured a volley into the bush, not a native was seen or heard, and "Bob" with his two friends got safely away. That was the first and only white man that has ever been killed on Lifu (although the natives will have it that the French are *red*, not white). Those who had fled inland had not proceeded very far before they met the one hundred and twenty soldiers that had been landed by the steamer on the north side of the island. As soon as they saw them they set up a shout for vengeance, and, heedless of consequences, fell upon them with their clubs and tomahawks (they had not any muskets with them). This, of course, was folly and madness; but they were no doubt furious with indignation and rage at the conduct of the soldiers at Chepenhehe. Fortunately for them there was a line of rock close by,

to which they very soon found it convenient to fly for refuge from the firing of the French. Had the soldiers followed them, very many must have been killed, but they seemed as anxious to get away as the natives. There were eight or nine soldiers severely wounded with spears and tomahawks: the natives had five more killed and many wounded.

There were now again three hundred soldiers assembled at Chepenche; these were divided into three companies, two of them being sent inland to pursue the natives, whilst the other remained to complete the work of devastation at Chepenche. Those who went to the inland villages were all under the command of *young* officers, who evidently regarded plundering and burning villages and shooting natives fine sport. Those who remained at Chepenche entered the church, bound the Samoan and Raratongan teachers, and sent them on board the steamer, where they were put in irons, their wives being allowed to come and stay with us. The Lifu natives were dragged out and tied up to cocoanut-trees. A woman having crept under one of the seats for safety, was pierced six times with a bayonet, supposing, as they said, that she was a man. An old grey-headed man, one of the deacons of the church at Chepenche, had a bayonet thrust into his side, and a gash in his forehead, having had his head knocked violently against the cocoanut-tree to which he was being tied. From our verandah I saw the soldiers belabouring an old man (a member of the church) about the head whilst others were fastening him to the tree.

When the governor arrived he sent for me to meet him at the garden gate, and there informed me that I was prohibited from acting in any public capacity in the Loyalty group, that I was not to go beyond the fence that surrounded our house or the sentinel would shoot me, and that my presence was merely tolerated as an Englishman. I was astounded at such extraordinary proceedings, and feeling sure that there was some mistake, desired the interpreter to ask for an explanation; but he assured me, as the governor walked away, that it was utterly useless attempting to obtain anything of the kind just then, his Excellency being in a passion. A messenger was sent for Mr Sleigh, who upon his arrival received similar orders from the governor, so we were both confined to the mission premises. In the course of the morning a hundred armed soldiers were marched up the garden, headed by the colonial secretary and the commander of the troops. Having encircled our house, the secretary read to me a declaration placing the island in a state of siege; it commenced in the following terms:—

“ Considérant que, sous le couvert de la religion protestante, des étrangers ont cherché à dénationaliser la population des îles Loyalty,” &c. &c. (considering that under the covert of the Protestant religion strangers have sought to denationalise the population of the Loyalty islands, &c.) Of course I protested against the terms of the declaration, and also against the unmerited treatment that we were receiving. With us it was a question of *religion*, not *nationality*. The natives had been

Christianised by English labour and English liberality; they had had many years' intercourse with English vessels, whereas they seldom saw a French ship: if, therefore, they had imbibed English ideas, and spoke a little of the English language, it was only what might be expected, and did not arise from any attempt of ours to spread English influence. The colonial secretary stated, however, that from their point of view it was a political question, and not one of religious philanthropy.

The commander said that the governor, supposing that natives were secreted in my house, had sent him to search it. I told him that he was at perfect liberty to do so, although from the unceremonious manner in which the soldiers surrounded the house, breaking down a fence that stood in their way, it was evident that, whatever I might have said, he would have carried out his object. As I walked with him through the house, it was easy to perceive that he was ashamed of his task. A few hours afterwards, the young commander from Enu crossed the mission premises with a few soldiers; he searched the Institution houses. One of our servant boys seeing the soldiers, ran from the cook-house to the verandah where we were standing. A soldier caught sight of him, and instantly raised his musket, when I cried, "Hold! hold! that boy is our servant." The lad rushed into the house, the soldier impudently observing that we had no servants. The commander ordered me to call our servants to the verandah. Having assembled them, he took the two boys, leaving the girls and the teachers' wives to remain with us. All the native

prisoners were sent on-board one of the steamers, and placed in irons with the eastern teachers. Soldiers were located on and around our premises to prevent any communication. In a native house not a stone's-throw from ours we had stored the cocoanut-fibre given by the natives as an annual contribution to the London Missionary Society, valuing about £40. We saw the governor and two or three officers enter the house, where they remained for some time. Soon after their departure the house was in flames, two soldiers being on guard until the building and the fibre were reduced to ashes. Our dwelling-house having a thatch roof, was of course in imminent danger. The remainder of the day was devoted to burning the village. Hour after hour we watched with sorrowful hearts house after house enveloped in flames. Only two of the lath-and-plaster houses were spared—Wainya's, and one belonging to an under-chief—which were shortly afterwards occupied by the commander and the lieutenant. Here was the lamentable end of what we had begun to make our model village ! We had been wont to look along that cocoanut grove, and see the houses of four hundred peaceful and happy natives, the smoke from which curled up amidst the beautiful green feathery tops of the trees ; imagine our feelings as we now beheld nothing but the black trunks of the trees, with their drooping brown leaves, and saw the church turned into a barrack, and thought of the natives pursued inland by the soldiers. In the evening, instead of the usual gong beaten for family worship, and the evening song of praise, we heard the soldiers' bugle

and the songs of revelry in the camp. *Ichabod* was written over both church and village. The pulpit was transformed into a bedroom for the commander. One of the large pews was used as a kitchen. The seats were taken out and used as firewood. A large table was placed in the centre, around which the officers met to eat, drink, and smoke. One end of the building was devoted to their baggage, and the other was used as a sleeping apartment.

On the Monday the soldiers returned from the inland villages. The natives having set watches, were aware of their approach, and managed to hide themselves in the bush before their arrival. These marauders burnt their villages, destroyed plantations, entered some of the chapels and demolished the pulpits, and destroyed cocoa-nut fibre belonging to the London Missionary Society to the amount of £30, besides that at Chepenehe. At one of the villages, the natives, having barely time to escape, were unable to carry with them a sick man who was far gone in consumption; this poor fellow was barbarously clubbed to death by the Roman Catholic natives, who accompanied the soldiers. These natives evidently thought that the French had come to assist them to subdue the Protestants, and transform them into humble Roman Catholics. *They* (as well as the Protestants) looked at the matter from a religious point of view, and entered heartily into the work of plunder. It was a real harvest-time for them. They knew the holes and caverns where the Protestants were likely to hide their goods, and thence they took their clothes, tools, fishing-nets, &c.,

leaving only broken boxes. These vagabonds even entered the mission premises, broke into the Institution houses, and carried off a good deal of property belonging to the students. My boat-sails were also stolen, and the boat half-filled with water and used by the soldiers as a wash-tub. I wrote to the commander about these things, but did not get any redress, nor even a reply to my note.

Fearing an attack from the natives, the soldiers were again marched up to our house, which they surrounded as before. All the females were now taken away. For three days and three nights our house had been the refuge of the wives of the eastern teachers, and also of those females who had worshipped with us on that fatal Friday morning. There was great weeping and lamentation among this little company, who were in great distress about their husbands, with whom they desired to suffer. They were not sorry, therefore, when the soldiers came to take them away, feeling that they were at least going to their husbands. Judge of their grief when they found themselves on board one steamer and their husbands on the other. They were alone and helpless; no one to protect them from the insults of the rude immoral men around them. The colonial secretary, who headed the soldiers, informed me that if they were attacked by the natives, they would use our house as a fort, and fire from the windows! I as an Englishman protested against their entering my house for such a purpose. As an English resident I claimed the protection of the French flag. This was appealing to the French

to be protected from the French! distinguishing between the whole and the part. As for the natives attacking them, there was not much fear of that, they were only too glad to get out of their way. We were now left alone, 'exposed to "stray shots," like that which terminated the life of a brother-missionary at Tahiti whilst walking on the verandah of his house. I wrote a polite note to the governor stating our position, and begging him to allow two of the servant boys to return to get firewood and water, also a girl as nurse, which he granted. The nights were terribly dreary. The monotonous cry of the guards, every half-hour passed from one to another, and the howling of dogs prowling about the ruins of the village seeking their homes and masters, reminded us painfully of the death and desolation that reigned around us, whilst the future was dark and discouraging. The whole machinery which we had got into working order for the social and spiritual elevation of the people was suddenly stopped. The natives had learnt the simple and glorious truths of our holy religion, which had led them to abandon idolatry and cannibalism. Polygamy was also becoming a thing of the past. The churches contained an aggregate of about fifteen hundred members. There were about two thousand young people in our schools, and about as many in the inquirers' classes who were seeking admission to the Church. Considerable improvements had been made in native dwellings, public roads, &c. Yet we were called to witness the peaceful homes of these comparatively enlightened people burnt,

their property stolen and destroyed, their long-cherished and sacred interests trampled upon, and that by a nation professing to be in the very van of civilisation. I felt sure that there must be some misunderstanding. Misrepresentation had evidently been doing its work, so I determined to write to the governor, who had not yet left. Having stated the purely benevolent design of our mission, and assured him that it had no political object whatever, I expressed a hope that his Excellency would not be guided by unfounded reports. On the following day I received a reply requesting me to present myself on board the steamer. I proceeded thither at the hour specified, and found the same persons assembled that I had met on a former occasion. The governor said that he wished to prove the value of the declaration made in my letter to him the day before. He then produced a letter, and asked me if I knew it. I immediately recognised it as one that I had sent to a Raratongan teacher about eighteen months before. This teacher was in charge of one of the largest and most important stations on the island, situated at the extremity of my district, about twenty miles from Chepenehe. The priest went there and ordered the natives, who are, and were then, all Protestants, to build him a house. The teacher wrote to me for advice, and the letter in the hands of the governor was my answer, which the priest had obtained from the teacher. I therein stated that the priest had no right to order them to build a house, being neither their chief nor their religious instructor, and that the

natives were quite justified in demanding payment for such work. I concluded by saying, *The dei angeice kō* (don't listen to him, or pay no attention to his words). The governor read the priest's translation, asking me if it was correct. When he came to the above sentence, I found that the singular number was changed into the plural, and the governor had the idea that I was speaking of the French generally. Having corrected this error, and stated the case to his Excellency, he threw down the translation, saying something in an undertone to the colonial secretary, and from that moment became more affable. He entered again, however, upon the old question. He had heard, he said, that the chiefs in the group were about to present a petition to her Majesty the Queen of England, requesting her to take the Loyalty group under her protection. I assured him that it was the first that we had heard of such a proposition, and that it could not have emanated from the English missionaries, who well knew that such a petition would be utterly useless. He had heard that the term "Peretania" (the native name for Great Britain) was applied to my premises by the natives, who only appeared to know *France* as the *land of the "Wenes."* We had not, I replied, taught the natives to call the mission premises by that name. It was true that they did so, just as they called the teacher's enclosure *Samoa*, and as they would probably call Enu France. I hoped his Excellency did not attach much importance to these trivial matters. He concluded the interview by informing me that my demand for a

permit of residence would be taken into consideration in council at Port-de-France, after which a reply would be forwarded to me. The male prisoners were on board the steamer that I visited, and during my stay the teachers were allowed on deck. Before leaving I went to them and spoke a few words of comfort. One of the priests visited them on board, and asked them what about their religion now. They answered that they were trusting in God. Do you expect God to stretch out His arm to take off your irons? he asked; sneeringly. Better for them, he said, to abandon such a religion, and embrace the true one with him.

The governor now prepared to leave. Wainya, the chief of Chepenehe, was deposed, and Jack appointed in his place. Peace was proclaimed, and messengers sent to the natives in the bush, ordering them to return to their respective places and rebuild their houses. The chiefs were to proceed to Chepenehe to meet the commander, and receive their instructions. (I found afterwards that these messages were not delivered to the natives.) Having thus "made an impression," and, as the governor doubtless supposed, cleared the way for the *Frenchifying* of the people, his Excellency left for New Caledonia, leaving the steamer containing the female prisoners at the disposal of the commander. Their husbands were released, but strictly charged not to leave Chepenehe. Their wives were set at liberty two days afterwards. What the governor thought, on his way back to New Caledonia, of the result of his expedition

to Lifu, it is hard to say. A little reflection must have convinced him that burning villages and shooting natives was not the best way of destroying English influence, and causing themselves to be respected, esteemed, and loved; it was, on the contrary, not only disgraceful and wicked, but a stupid, suicidal policy.

XIV.

A SABBATH IN THE BUSH—THE NIGHT MESSENGER—UKENIZO'S MISTAKEN IDEAS ABOUT THE OBJECT OF THE FRENCH—CONSULTATION OF THE NATIVES—CONSOLATION—WARM HEARTS IN COLD BODIES—THE SECOND MESSENGER—INTERVIEW WITH THE COMMANDER—THE ALTERED APPEARANCE OF THE CHURCH—COMMANDER'S FAVOURABLE REPLY—RETURN OF THE NATIVES TO THEIR VILLAGES—ARRIVAL OF THE "DAY SPRING"—COMMUNICATION PROHIBITED—THE CAPTAIN ORDERED NOT TO LEAVE THE MISSIONARY FOR UVEA—THE "DAY SPRING" AMONGST THE BREAKERS—PRAYER AND EFFORT—THE COMMANDER'S INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEFS—NEW COMMANDER—EFFORTS OF THE PRIESTS TO PROSELYTISE—HOW THE SPIRITUAL WANTS OF THE NATIVES WERE PROVIDED FOR—TEACHERS SELECTED BY THE PEOPLE TO CARRY ON THE WORK—THE SHIP TRIMMED TO SUIT THE GALE.

FOUR days and four nights the natives—men, women, and children—remained in the bush, exposed to the inclemency of the weather; afraid at times even to make a fire, lest their whereabouts should be discovered. They spent a Sabbath there, but how different from those they had been accustomed to spend in their quiet villages! They assembled in small groups, and the leading men amongst them conducted the services, the young men keeping watch at a distance. Whilst these bush assemblies were thus engaged, their villages were being plundered and burnt, and their churches desecrated, by the soldiers and Roman Catholic natives.

Notwithstanding the guards placed around our pre-

mises, we were startled by a gentle tapping at the study door about ten o'clock on the third night after the burning of the village. Having partially opened the door, I found one of the students on all fours, whispering, "How are you? we are all safe." I let him in by a back door, the camp being opposite our house, and had a little conversation with him. He had been standing behind a tree near the mission premises for several hours, seeking an opportunity to pass the guards. Regarding the soldiers as being under the direction and control of Ukenizo, they had sent presents to him; and by representatives, humbled themselves to him, begging him to have pity upon them, and allow them to return to their villages. Ukenizo pretended (and perhaps at that time seriously thought so) that he could continue or bring the war to a close whenever he pleased; that the soldiers were, as he termed it, his subjects, carrying out his will. He answered the messengers, that nothing less would satisfy him than his subjects embracing his religion. Their only hope, he said, was in their becoming Roman Catholics. The priest also urged them to abandon a religion which, he said, would cost them shame and suffering here, and eternal death hereafter. The messengers returned, and the little companies were assembled on two high rocks, their towers of strength in their heathen wars; a communication was kept up between the two parties, and scouts were on the lookout day and night. They unanimously resolved to die rather than abandon the religion which they had embraced, and this was a messenger to inform us of their resolution,

and beseech us not to leave them. They had heard that we were silenced, and that their teachers were ordered to leave the island by the first opportunity.

The governor had ordered me not only to keep to my house, but not to have any communication with the natives. Here was a poor fellow who had risked his life to pay us a visit, and his object was a purely religious one. Was I wrong in disregarding the injunction of the governor, and having an interview with this native? I did not think so. I told him to inform our people that we had no intention of leaving them; that although we were prohibited from acting in our public capacity, we should still be in their midst, and consequently have many opportunities of directing and comforting them; and that most likely we should be allowed to prosecute our labours again after communications had been received from the Home Government. I reminded him of the words of our Lord which led us to expect annoyances and persecutions if we were faithful, and desired him to urge his brethren to steadfastness and prayer—the former would result from the latter. If they put their trust in God, *He* would never leave them, whatever might become of us, nor would *He* leave them shepherdless. The poor fellow's eyes glistened, and his black face beamed with delight as he rose to leave, saying his friends would be pleased to hear what I had said, and that my words had warmed his heart. Poor creatures! it was some comfort to be able to warm their hearts, for their bodies must have been cold enough on those bleak rocks exposed to the coldest nights in the year.

Two nights after, another messenger came about the same hour. He said that they had again sent presents to conciliate Ukenizo, and be allowed to return to their villages, and that he had returned the same answer as before. They were cold and hungry, he said, and some of the weaker ones were beginning to talk about complying with Ukenizo's wish—a few had already left them and joined the Roman Catholic party. What were they to do? The governor had just left, and before his departure had, I understood, ordered the natives to return to and rebuild their villages, and the chiefs to present themselves to the commander; yet they were all in the bush, under the impression that the only condition upon which they would be allowed to emerge from their retreat was their renouncing their faith and joining the Roman Catholics. I endeavoured to explain to the messenger that they would be governed henceforth not by Ukenizo, but by the commander, and that liberty of worship was a law of France which the latter must observe; *he* could take no part in imposing such a condition upon them, and he was the only one they had now to fear. I determined to see the commander myself, and let the messenger take the result of our interview to his anxious brethren. My wife's fears were excited for my safety. I had been charged not to leave our house on pain of being shot, and there was a sentinel on guard opposite our gate. I felt, however, that the risk was small compared with the good that was likely to be accomplished by such an interview; so I took a light, that I might see and be seen, and proceeded towards the camp, leaving

those behind anxiously watching on the verandah. At the garden gate the sentinel accosted me with the usual "*Qui vive?*" I told him that I wished to see the commander, and was directed to the church. How strange and altered everything appeared! There were rows of tents in front of the church. Camp-fires burnt here and there, and cast their lurid glare upon the walls of the building; around these sat the soldiers, who (French-like) appeared to be all speaking at once. The logs which had formed the chief's enclosure were erected around the church, forming a kind of fort; and the French flag could just be seen through the darkness waving from the belfry. The change in the interior of the church was even more striking. Most of the seats had disappeared. Casks, cases, and bags were heaped up at one end; two tables, a few benches, and hammocks were at the other. The commander and the doctor were standing near the door; the former, seeing me, went hastily into the pulpit and put on his official coat. I was received kindly, and after stating the object of my visit, was requested to assure the natives that they had nothing more to fear, and urge them to return to their villages. The officer then in command was an agreeable elderly gentleman; he assured me that it was his firm determination to maintain strict discipline amongst his troops, and that the persons and property of Europeans would be respected. I thanked him, and left. The messenger went away not less delighted than the former one. No sooner had he informed his friends of my interview with the commander than they dispersed to their desolate homes. A large

house or two was first erected at each village, in order to provide shelter for all; after which each family constructed their dwelling at leisure. The natives of Chepenehe, however, erected temporary buildings on their plantations, five miles from their late village, the site of which was reserved for the camp and Europeans. The villagers were to clear the bush behind the camp, and erect a new village there. This was a new and rather unpleasant idea to the natives, who had always been accustomed to build their houses under the shadow of the cocoanut-trees. They felt no inclination, however, to live so near the soldiers, and such proximity was indeed a very undesirable thing; so the village of Chepenehe remained for a time deserted by the natives.

The mission vessel *Day Spring* arrived about a week after the village had been destroyed. It was her first visit, she having just come out from Nova Scotia. We had arranged to have our annual meeting at Chepenehe, and there were many important matters to be discussed connected with our work. Mr and Mrs Ella were on board, on their way to occupy the long-neglected island of Uvea. The brethren Creagh and Jones from Mare were also there; and five of the missionaries from the Presbyterian mission in the New Hebrides had come to consult with us about the movements of the new ship, the extension of our operations, &c. So that we anticipated a delightful change from our late troubles, and rejoiced in the prospect of deep sympathy and fraternal advice. Judge of our disappointment when we were informed that we could have no communication with the ship, and

that none but the captain would be allowed to land. The brethren from Mare, being missionaries of the group, came off in a boat, but were not allowed to land. The vessel being anchored opposite our house, we had the mortification of seeing our friends, and even distinguishing them by the aid of the glass, without being able to commune with them. A petition was prepared, signed by all the missionaries, and sent to the commander, but without effect. Knowing that the French pride themselves upon their gallantry, I felt that there was a chance for Mrs M'Farlane, although none for myself, so I wrote a polite note requesting permission for my wife to accompany the captain on board. This was accorded, but in such a manner that left me no hope that I should be allowed to go for her. The captain was ordered not to leave Mr and Mrs Ella at Uvea, or in any island in the group, and told to leave as soon as possible. Mr Ella had a right, in common with other Europeans, to land at Uvea in his private capacity as English resident, and for this he at once demanded a permit of residence. The commander, however, said that he must refer the case to the governor, so Mr and Mrs Ella were obliged to return, and remain for a time on one of the islands of the New Hebrides group. Our goods were landed, and the captain intended leaving early next morning. During the night, however, a strong wind arose blowing right into the bay; it increased to a gale towards morning. At daylight we were alarmed to see the *Day Spring* amongst the breakers. She had dragged both of her anchors, but had not touched. She was rolling fearfully, and momen-

tarily expected to be dashed on a rock. The French steamer was there with her steam up, but did not offer the least assistance. I went down to the camp and asked if nothing could be done. One of the officers told me that they were preparing ropes to save the passengers and crew, but that there was no hope of the vessel being saved. Prayer and effort, however, were united on board. The crew were active sending down the yards, &c., whilst the missionaries continued in prayer to Him who said "Peace, be still." The wind ceased. A little longer, and the beautiful *Day Spring* must have been a complete wreck. A light breeze sprang up from the land; sail was set, and she was taken by her able commander out of her dangerous position, stern first, to the admiration of all. At one time there was a strong probability that we should, after all, meet the brethren. We were delighted, however, under the circumstances, to see them depart.

A few days after the natives had returned to their villages, the chiefs presented themselves at the camp with fear and trembling. The commander said little to them about the past, but he was imperious and unmistakable in referring to the future. They were not to go to the missionary for advice, but to the commander, whom they were to regard as their chief. They were not to bring us any food, or do any work on the mission premises unless they were paid for it. They were also forbidden to make contributions to the Missionary Society. They were to live peaceably with the soldiers; endeavour to acquire the French language, and regard

themselves as Frenchmen. With reference to religion, they might do as they pleased ; there was perfect liberty of worship. The commander desired the two principal chiefs, Bula and Ukenizo, with a few of the under-chiefs, to proceed to New Caledonia in the steamer, which was about to leave, to be present at the games on the Emperor's fete-day. Ukenizo was afraid to trust himself in the hands of his friends, and so sent his uncle. Bula and a few of the under-chiefs went, and were kindly treated. The commander of the troops and most of the soldiers also left by the same opportunity.

The Loyalty group was now left in charge of an officer whom the governor had brought over with him for that purpose—one who had been several years at Tahiti just after the French settled there, and was consequently cognisant of, if he had not taken an active part in, the various attempts made on that island to destroy *English influence*. Doubtless he was considered the most capable amongst the governor's staff to grapple with the difficulties which presented themselves to the French in the Loyalty group. He was known to be disposed to play into the hands of the priests ; and although the governor was no friend of theirs, yet he seems to have regarded the conversion of the natives to the national religion as the most feasible way of Frenchifying them. The priests spoke of the new commander as a good Catholic, and evidently entertained bright visions of the religious reformation that would be accomplished during his reign. They had been unwearied in their efforts to proselytise among the Protestants since the day that the village of Chepenehe

had been attacked, and the teachers and missionaries silenced—telling the natives that Protestantism in the Loyalty group was now at an end; that their missionaries would not be allowed to resume their labours in the group, and that they, being French subjects, would be obliged to embrace the French religion. They tried every fair and foul expedient to induce Bula to abandon his faith, but in vain; he assured them that he had no desire to possess the power and position which they told him he would obtain by professing himself a Roman Catholic, and that he was prepared to suffer, if called to do so, on account of his faith. Several Roman Catholic natives were going about the island with bundles of crosses and medals, telling the Protestants that those who refused to accept them would be sent as prisoners to Tahiti, that the steamer had gone to fetch a number of dogs to pursue those who betook themselves to the bush, and would be back again in a fortnight to take all who persisted in professing the *hmi Peretania* (English religion). Of course, I do not pretend that they were authorised by the priests to make such statements; I simply state the fact that they were made, and believed by the majority of the natives, who were greatly distressed, although determined to remain faithful.

The adaptation of congregational principles to provide for the spiritual wants of a large community on such emergencies, was illustrated on that occasion. The Samoan and Raratongan teachers, with their families, were all assembled at Chepenche under the strict *surveillance* of the commander, who would not even

allow them to leave the village. We were not allowed to officiate in any public capacity, though that did not prevent us from rendering valuable service to the mission as "private English residents." The natives of two or more villages were not allowed to assemble for public worship as they had been accustomed to do, they were ordered to remain at their respective places, yet were told that they might worship as they pleased. From the first, the authorities have openly declared that the natives are at perfect liberty in matters of religion, they may adopt whatever creed they think best, or remain in their heathen state, 'tis no consequence to them. These are their words, but "actions speak louder than words," and the sequel will prove that in a variety of ways the authorities have sought (from political motives, no doubt) to change the religion of the natives of the Loyalty group. They probably thought that under these circumstances Protestantism would die a natural death. They removed what they considered the props, and expected the whole structure to fall; no doubt such would have been the result had it been *our* building, but the severe trials to which the natives had already been exposed proved to be of God; it was built on the *Rock*, so that when "the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, it fell not."

The Institution had been closed, and the students, twenty-three in number, had returned to their homes. They had been preparing to go abroad as evangelists to the heathen islands, but we soon found that God had

been preparing them for an emergency at home, where there was now a multitude of shepherdless sheep. They were chosen as temporary teachers by the natives of the principal villages ; at others, deacons, or the most intelligent amongst the church members, were selected by the people, until every village throughout the island had its teacher, and formed a little community, neither too humble nor too small to be noticed and blessed by the Great Head of the Universal Church. We claimed our rights as English residents, and were allowed, in common with other Europeans, to move about the island at pleasure ; so that we had the opportunity of visiting our people at their homes, although we dared not address them in public assemblies. The clouds now began to disperse. Our little bark had been struck by a violent squall, which had astonished, terrified, and confused the natives. Some thought that we must be carried away by the strength of the wind and the violence of the waves ; but she soon recovered from the shock, and again appeared from the mist, still on her course, with other masts and sails, which although smaller and weaker than the former, were nevertheless such as the fury of the gale would permit.

XV.

MAKING ROMAN CATHOLICS—HOW TO RENDER THE “BLACKS”
OBEDIENT AND LOVING—THE COMMANDER BAFFLED BY THE
APPLICATION OF CONGREGATIONAL PRINCIPLES—STATE CONTROL
WITHOUT STATE PAY—A ROMAN CATHOLIC SUBJECT OF BULA’S
MADE AN INDEPENDENT CHIEF—POLICY OF THE COMMANDER—
WENEGENT’S CASE—ALARM! THE SOLDIERS IN ARMS—TREATMENT
OF THE EASTERN TEACHERS—AWAITING THE ANSWER OF THE
IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT—NATIVES PUNISHED FOR TEACHING EACH
OTHER TO WRITE—APPROPRIATION OF THE CHURCH BELL AND
INTERFERENCE WITH PERSONAL LIBERTY.

THE governor, on his return to New Caledonia, whilst conversing with the Director of the Roman Catholic missions in the South Seas on the subject of the expedition to Lifu, remarked jocosely, that he had been making a good many Roman Catholics for them. No doubt both the authorities and the priests expected that a great diminution in the number of the Protestants would result from the measures which they had adopted, and that having silenced their missionaries and teachers, and prohibited the circulation of the Scriptures and other books, and closed all the schools, Protestantism, or rather, what one regarded as *English influence* and the other as *heresy*, would die a natural death. They evidently did not calculate upon our being permitted by the Imperial Government to resume our labours; this is manifest from a passage in the letter which I received from the

colonial secretary defining our position. "The fact of your being an English subject ought to give you the assurance that the authorisation to exercise the functions of a minister of religion will not be granted to you." We may therefore judge of their surprise and chagrin when they beheld the little communities rallying round the new teachers, with as much respect and affection as they had shown to their former ones. Their dread of the commander had not inspired any disposition to abandon the faith in which they had been instructed; it had only increased the anti-French feeling which the authorities were seeking to destroy. It is strange that so enlightened a people should manifest such ignorance of human nature as to suppose that *severe* measures were the most likely to facilitate the accomplishment of their object; yet the captain of the French man-of-war stated, as his conviction, that the best course to adopt with the "Blacks," in order to make them obey and love you, is to flog them as you would a dog; they will then, he said, come like that animal, and lie at your feet. I am inclined to think that kindness is more effectual than the rod in winning the affections, even of the canine tribe. We shall see what effect their severity has had upon the natives of the Loyalty group.

It soon became evident to the commander and his satellites that Congregationalism offered serious obstacles to the accomplishment of their designs; it gave the people too much power in religious matters, and fostered vitality under circumstances where a State Church would have languished and died. He would fain have

established a State Church, but that required money, and the Government at New Caledonia had not any to spare, and probably expected to accomplish their object without it; so he introduced a system of State control without State pay!—a very convenient sort of State Church for a poor and despotic Government. A proclamation was issued, stating that the people were not allowed to select their pastors, that they must be appointed by the principal chiefs, and that any native found officiating who had not been thus appointed, would be imprisoned. The two principal chiefs were Bula and Ukenizo. Simultaneously with the above proclamation, however, was one announcing that Zeula (a subject of Bula's, though chief of a powerful tribe, numbering about a thousand, at the extremity of his district) was henceforth to be an independent chief. He was then a lad about twelve years of age, with whom one of the priests resided, and in whose hands he was a mere tool. Bula confirmed the appointment of the teachers selected by the people throughout his district, but Ukenizo and Zeula appointed others, many of whom could not even read the Scriptures, and all most unsuitable persons, not even members of the church or of the seekers' class. The poor fellows were greatly annoyed and ashamed; in the pulpits they lamented their being called to a work for which they felt themselves so unfit, and informed the people that they could not preach, yet were forced to retain their nominal position. I had an interview with the commander on the subject of their appointment, and expostulated with him on the unreasonableness and injustice of such proceedings. He

professed to be ignorant of the kind of men appointed by the chiefs; yet although I informed him of their character, and urged him to appoint teachers himself rather than leave it to such ignorant unprincipled natives, who made no secret of their attempt to abuse the Protestants and destroy Protestantism, he, nevertheless, sanctioned the appointment made by the chiefs.

The policy of the commander from the first was unmistakable. In seeking to destroy the influence of the English missionaries, he did not say, as Ukenizo did, that the natives must either embrace the Roman Catholic religion or be punished by the Government, but he made his acts utter the sentiment with cruel emphasis. Chiefs, teachers, and the leading Protestants were deposed, degraded, and punished, whilst the Roman Catholics—especially those who had recently left our ranks—were placed in positions of importance, invited to dine with him at the camp, and allowed to do with impunity the very same thing for which the Protestants were imprisoned. Attempts were made to give importance and prominence to the Roman Catholic religion. A company of soldiers were sent to be present at the opening of a village church eight miles distant, in which they performed their royal evolutions, much to the wonder and amusement of the natives. The commander went to the same place to be present at the baptism of Ukenizo's son, for whom he became godfather. He also went with a company of soldiers a distance of twelve miles, to be present at the burial of a Roman Catholic chief, who was interred with military honours; the commander

remarking to Bula that his death would not be noticed by the Government, an intimation which the chief was rather pleased than otherwise to receive, for the natives regarded the firing into the grave with a considerable degree of superstitious fear and suspicion. The commander asked the French storekeeper at Chepenche if he knew what had become of *Mr M'Farlane's head man*—the chief of the village? “No,” was the reply. “Why,” said he, “he is sawing logs for me for six biscuits per week!” Small as the wages may appear, it was nevertheless six biscuits per week more than the other natives received. Another Protestant chief, who was a deacon of the church, and who had made himself conspicuous during the time that the natives were secreted in the bush, by exhorting them to steadfastness, was also kept at the camp sawing timber for the Government.

It was not long after the teachers had been deposed by the Roman Catholic chiefs when the commander determined upon an act which caused considerable excitement throughout the island, and which may be justly characterised as extremely rash, unjust, and cruel. It will be remembered that the indefatigable pioneer teacher Pao ultimately settled at We, the ancient battle-field, and there established a large station, composed of natives from the different tribes. The people of We had unanimously elected Wenegent as their teacher. This young man had been in the Institution for several years, and was a subject of Bula's, who had confirmed his appointment. After the boy Zeula had been created an independent chief, he proceeded with a few followers to We,

where some of his Protestant subjects resided, and informed the teacher that he had orders from the commander to depose him and appoint another in his place. Wenegent said that he had been chosen by the people as their teacher; that his election had been confirmed by Bula, and sanctioned by the commander; that he was a subject of Bula's, and labouring in his district, and that he did not believe the commander had sent him, adding, "*Tha tro kö ni a dei nyipa*" (I will not listen to you). Zeula returned to the priest, who immediately wrote a letter to the commander. Wenegent was sent for and placed in irons, charged with saying that he would neither obey the commander nor Zeula. He was alleged to have said, "*Tha tro kö ni a dei nyipo*"—*nyipo* being the dual number of *nyipa*. Thus, by changing a single vowel, the teacher was charged with rebellion; and the island being in a state of siege, placed full power in the hands of the commander, who determined to use it with severity in subduing the Protestants. The poor man was sentenced to be shot; a day was fixed, and the chiefs throughout the island were ordered to assemble at Chepenehe to witness his execution. I was astounded when the commander informed me of his intention, and of course pleaded hard for the poor fellow's life. He considered, however, that the natives generally were disobedient and rebellious; that on their arrival they had treated them with too much lenity, (!) and that it was necessary to make an example of Wenegent, in order to lead others to tremble and obey. The teacher was a worthy man, had a young wife and two children. I appealed to the

commander as a husband, a father, and also as a man appointed to execute *justice*. I spoke seriously of the innocent blood that he was about to shed, reminding him of the "judgment to come," and, happily, not without effect; the sentence was commuted to *twelve months' imprisonment*; during that period he had to work at the camp, his friends supplying him with food. The native appointed to take his place at We was an elderly, ignorant, stupid man, who had but a short time before embraced Christianity. Of course he knew very little about the gospel, of which he had been wickedly made a preacher, and could neither read nor write; but his ignorance was evidently his qualification. Most of the natives of the place used to assemble in small groups and conduct services among themselves after they returned from church, attending which was a mere form with which they complied through fear of the *kalaboose*.

An event occurred about the time of which I am writing, the circumstances of which I may relate, as affording a specimen of the groundless suspicions entertained by the French authorities, who, conscious that they were trampling upon the sacred rights of the innocent and defenceless, were in constant dread of conspiracies and retaliation. It was one of those calm, clear, starlight nights, so peculiar to and enjoyable in the tropical climates. Mrs M'Farlane and I paced the verandah of our house, where we have walked hundreds of miles, for it is our usual place of daily promenade. We were contrasting the happy past with the painful present, and speculating upon the dark future. The bugle had called

the soldiers within the camp. The stars cast their feeble flickering rays upon the still waters of the bay, and appeared to look down with sorrow upon the ruins of the deserted village. The tall cocoanut-trees, which had survived the conflagration, reared their proud heads toward heaven, and stood in stately grandeur amidst the desolation, as if imploring a *just God* to pity and protect the oppressed. The whales were floating listlessly upon the surface of the bay, and lashing its peaceful waters with their huge fins, the noise of which came booming over the bay through the stillness of the night like the report of cannon. It was the hour when we were wont to hear the song of evening praise ascending from the various huts throughout the village, but a silence reigned like that of the tombs, only broken at intervals by the shouts of revelry proceeding from the camp. We turned from the melancholy scene, and entered the study. About an hour afterwards we were startled by the trampling of feet and the clanking of arms, followed by a heavy step on the verandah, then a rap at the study door, upon opening which, I found a corporal accompanied by half-a-dozen soldiers all armed. I was informed that the commander wished to see me at the camp, so I immediately proceeded thither, wondering what could have happened, and leaving my wife in perplexity and fear. To my astonishment, I found the soldiers on parade receiving a supply of ammunition, officers passing rapidly to and fro, and all the usual preparations for action being hurriedly accomplished. I entered what had recently been the village church, and

found the commander looking very grave. He asked me if I was not aware of a contemplated attack upon the camp by the Protestants. I said that I was not only ignorant of such a movement, but that I felt sure the natives had no such idea; they well knew that such an attempt would prove most disastrous to themselves. He said that he had heard the report of guns, and had seen many torches along the coast about two miles from the camp, and that they felt sure that the natives, according to their custom, were seeking revenge. I instantly perceived the ground of their fears, and, unable to retain my gravity, said, "Why, you are in arms against the whales! they may be often heard lashing the water with their fins about this season of the year, and torches may be seen almost every night, as there are generally some natives out fishing." Whether he doubted my veracity, or was ashamed to own their suspicions, I know not; he persisted, however, in his assertion, and ordered all the soldiers to remain under arms during the night. He did not return to his house (the chief's), but remained with them and doubled the watch. I left, having obtained a promise from him that he would simply act on the *defensive*.

At half-past twelve o'clock the outpost descried a party of natives rapidly approaching the camp with torches. The soldiers seized their muskets and flew to their posts. The officers drew their swords and awaited the attack. They could not be deceived this time, they heard human voices and saw human forms. On came the natives running and shouting as they generally do

when carrying a burden. Perhaps the commander would have fired; but, remembering his promise, he remained on the defensive. The natives drew near, gave the watch-word, and passing through an avenue of bayonets into the midst of the camp, laid down about two hundred-weight of fresh meat, which the priest had sent as a present to the commander, having killed a bullock at a village eight miles distant. So the anxiety, labour, and watching of the night were brought to a close by an agreeable and harmless attack upon roast-beef—a happy issue of their troubles which none of them had expected.

The maltreatment which the eastern teachers received did not terminate at the close of their confinement on board the steamers. There, although in irons, they received regular rations; but after the steamers left they were kept prisoners at large in the desolate village of Chepenehe, strictly prohibited from visiting inland villages and plantations, yet no provision made for their wants by the commander. As they, with their families, numbered forty-one persons, it was no easy matter to find food for them all. Flour, arrow-root, rice, and biscuit soon disappeared. The natives from their former stations often brought them food (secretly, for intercourse was prohibited), but far from sufficient to supply their wants. They frequently begged the commander to allow them to go inland, but he refused. I wrote to him, and also had an interview with him on the subject; but he was inexorable, saying that the teachers were retained at Chepenehe by superior orders, and placed under his strict *surveillance*, and that they were not in any way

dependent upon me. This was a rather extraordinary assertion to make, seeing that they and their families were almost entirely depending on us for food—a fact of which he was well aware; but the letter was written, no doubt, for his superiors, although addressed to me. I determined, however, to see upon whom *he* considered they were dependent; so having explained to them the circumstances of the case, I sent them to the commander to say that, in accordance with his letter to me, I left them to his care, by whom they were retained at the village, and told them to ask for food, or liberty to go and seek it. They did so, but without obtaining either the one or the other. They repeated their request ten times, and then, as a last resource, endeavoured to move him by a letter, in which they asked him why he still prohibited them from going to their plantations; whatever had they done; were they to die of hunger, &c. They said that they were willing to work for food, that their children were crying for it, but they had not any to give, and begged him to have compassion upon them. He did not, however, answer their letter, which they had all signed, feeling, no doubt, that the missionary would see that they did not suffer much from hunger. The wife of one of the teachers having, unknown to the commander, gone to an inland village to get some food, the husband was put in prison. The commander employed one of them to make five wash-tubs, promising to give him food as payment. The teacher made and delivered them, but nothing was said about the payment. Five days afterwards the teacher went to remind the commander of his

promise, and was put in prison for a night for daring to go to him on such an errand. When the commander found that the wives of three of the teachers were confined to their beds, and one of them dangerously ill (she died shortly afterwards), he told their husbands that they might return to their former stations, alleging that he did not want any of them to die at Chepenehe. The teachers, however, did not wish to be separated from their friends at such a time; having been together so long, they determined to remain where they were until the arrival of the mission vessel, which was soon to take them to their homes. The French complain that they are generally disliked throughout the islands, and appear to regard Englishmen in general and missionaries in particular as the cause of this anti-French feeling: it would surely be more rational to seek the cause nearer home. It is not difficult to conceive the kind of report which the eastern teachers would give upon their arrival at their respective islands; nor is it probable that natives from New Caledonia or the Loyalty group will say much in favour of their rulers to the neighbouring islanders; and this is no doubt one, most likely the principal, reason why the natives were not allowed to go beyond the group except as sailors in French vessels.

The time now drew near when the governor expected to receive the views of the Imperial Government upon his expedition to Lifu. Six months had passed since the disgraceful attack upon the persons and property of the peaceful people. Most of the wounded had recovered; but the bones of the slain were scattered in

the bush, and occasionally found on the public roads, their bodies having been devoured by dogs during the flight of their friends. The commander had not made any secret of his policy, supposing that what the governor had done would be confirmed in Paris. He had striven to give prominence to Roman Catholicism; favouring its adherents; making a tour through the island in company with one of the priests, and reviewing the soldiers on the Emperor's fête-day between two of them. Such proceedings as these, and others of a similar kind which I have already mentioned, naturally led the natives to identify the priests with the soldiers, and to speak of Roman Catholicism as a *hmi ne isi* (fighting religion). On one occasion the commander found, on his way to the priests, five natives in a hut by the roadside, one of whom was trying to teach the others to write. He entered the hut, asked to see their slates; but instead of a pat on the shoulder, and a few words of encouragement, he spoke angrily to them, told them that they had no right to be thus engaged, seeing that all the schools had been closed, and ordered them to meet him on his return to the camp. They did so, and were confined three days in prison. This circumstance, however, only led the young men generally to greater perseverance in their attempts to acquire this useful art; but they took care in future not to meet in such conspicuous places.

Not only had the commander shown his partiality in the way that I have described, but he even went so far as to interfere with our personal liberty, and appropriate

mission property; in this, however, he was not sustained by his superiors. Having prevented Mr Creagh and family from proceeding to Sydney in the mission vessel, that gentleman appealed to the governor, who blamed the commander, and informed Mr Creagh that he was at liberty to go where he liked, inviting him to proceed to Sydney *via* New Caledonia, which he did at a cost of £50. Mr Creagh desired the Government to pay this sum, seeing that it had been incurred by obeying their orders: for had the commander allowed him to proceed in the mission vessel, for which every preparation had been made, no expense would have been occasioned; whereas the commander distinctly stated in his letter to Mr Creagh, that if he left the island he would not be allowed to return. Not obtaining any satisfaction from the governor, Mr Creagh wrote to the authorities in Paris, who immediately ordered the governor to pay to him the above sum.

The commander also prevented me from visiting Uvea in the mission vessel, which was going to that island. He had previously prohibited me from going to Mare, saying that I might visit Uvea. Lifu was no longer in a state of siege, and other Europeans were allowed to pass to and fro among the islands, so I desired an explanation upon this invasion of my rights as a British subject. The church bell was appropriated by the commander, and tolled every half-hour, like a ship's bell, to indicate the time; and this not only in our hearing, but at our garden gate, notwithstanding my efforts to obtain and devote it to the legitimate

object for which my friends had sent it. Whilst corresponding with the governor upon these uncalled-for and unjustifiable acts of the commander, the mail arrived with the instructions of the Imperial Government relative to the English Protestant mission in the Loyalty group, which not only secured to us our personal liberty and mission property, but also liberty of worship, and so rendered any further correspondence upon the above subject unnecessary.

XVI.

INDIGNATION WHEN THE NEWS REACHED THE COLONIES AND ENGLAND—
MEMORIAL TO THE EMPEROR—THE EMPEROR'S REPLY—THE PUBLIC
PACIFIED—LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR—MY REPLY—DELIGHT OF
THE NATIVES UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR'S DECISION—COPY
OF OATH TO BE TAKEN BY THE PROTESTANT MINISTERS AT LIFU AND
MARE—MY REPLY—LETTERS ABOUT THE OPENING OF THE SEMINARY
AND DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS—DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ABOUT
LIBERTY OF WORSHIP—INVITATION TO VISIT THE GOVERNOR—CON-
CILIATORY MEASURES—DELAY IN RESTORING THE CHURCH AND BELL—
THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL—LETTER ABOUT THE REOPENING OF THE
SEMINARY AND THE FREE CIRCULATION OF THE BIBLE.

THERE was a general burst of indignation in the Australian colonies when they heard of M. Guillain's expedition to Lifu; and in the newspapers, especially the *Sydney Morning Herald*, he was severely castigated in several "leaders," not only for the Lifu business, but also for his harsh and despotic administration at New Caledonia. Meetings were held in the different colonies, and the Home Government petitioned to locate a consul at New Caledonia. This feeling was not confined to Englishmen alone. A letter appeared in the above journal from a French gentleman, stating that, in common with Englishmen, his feelings, and he believed those of his fellow-countrymen generally, had been outraged by the recent proceedings of the governor of New Caledonia. It will be remembered how promptly

and warmly the English press took up the question, the *Times* leading the way; and how that a memorial was addressed to the Emperor of the French signed by noblemen and gentlemen of high official position. The following is a copy of that document, with the reply of his Majesty the Emperor :—

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY NAPOLEON III., EMPEROR OF
THE FRENCH.

LONDON, *January 13, 1865.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—We, the undersigned, with feelings of profound respect, beg to request your Majesty's obliging and considerate attention to the accompanying statement of Protestant missionary operations in the Loyalty islands, South Pacific, and the suppression of these labours by M. Guillain, governor of New Caledonia, in the month of June 1864.

Your Majesty needs not to be informed that the benevolent and religious classes of our countrymen have long been engaged in Christian and philanthropic efforts, with a view to extend the blessings of civilisation and true religion among the heathen tribes and nations; and we confidently assure your Majesty that the deepest sympathies of the several Protestant missionary associations of Britain have been intensely excited by the painful facts narrated in the statement which we have now the honour to submit.

Many of the most successful efforts made by English Protestant missionaries have been accomplished among the debased and savage islanders of the South Pacific; and of this fact the past and present condition of the islands of the Loyalty group supplies abundant evidence. Twenty years since, before Christian teachers visited those islands, murder and cannibalism were the common practices of the natives; and the lives of strangers who ventured upon their shores were often sacrificed and their bodies consumed. But now these horrid practices are of rare occurrence, and the character and habits of thousands of the people present a transformation over which the Christian philanthropist must sincerely rejoice.

We cannot, therefore, entertain a doubt that your Majesty will share in our deep regret that labours so highly beneficial should be prohibited or restrained, and that the disinterested and self-denying

men by whom they have been accomplished should be deprived of the pleasure of continuing their works of mercy for the further improvement of the islanders.

We are able confidently to assure your Majesty that the reasons assigned by the governor of New Caledonia for the oppressive measures he adopted are mistaken and unfounded. The English missionaries were accused of denationalising the native Christians of Lifu by teaching them the English rather than the French language ; whereas there was, probably, not a single native who understood a word of English, the missionaries having learnt the language of the people in order to give them instruction in the only way in which it was practicable. The representation, also, that the missionaries had encouraged the islanders to resist the French authority was equally unfounded, as the governor of New Caledonia had never claimed any authority in Lifu up to the period when these hostile proceedings were adopted.

We are glad to know that the measures of M. Guillaïn were adopted on his own responsibility, and they require your Majesty's sanction to give them force and perpetuity ; because we feel convinced, from your Majesty's well-known attachment to the great principles of social justice and religious freedom, that these oppressive restrictions will be revoked, and that the English missionaries will be allowed as heretofore to carry on their peaceful and beneficial labours, and, together with the native Protestant Christians, to enjoy without restriction the ministrations and ordinances of Christianity.

We beg to assure your Majesty that such an enlightened and generous exercise of your Imperial prerogative will be gratefully appreciated by all classes of our countrymen, and by none more highly than the friends of Christian missions whom we have the pleasure to represent.

With every sentiment of profound respect, we have the honour to be, your Majesty's most faithful Servants,

SHAFTESBURY.

CHICHESTER.

A. C. LONDON.

ARTHUR P. STANLEY, Dean of Westminster.

WARREN S. HALE, Lord Mayor.

THOMAS DAKIN, Sheriff of London and Middlesex.

ROBERT BESLEY, Sheriff of London.

JAMES ABBISS, Alderman.

JAMES CLARKE LAWRENCE, Alderman.

D. H. STONE, Alderman.

THOMAS CAVE, Ex-Sheriff of London and Middlesex.

A. KINNAIRD, Treasurer of the London Missionary Society.

S. MORTON PETO, Treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society.

ARTHUR TIDMAN, Secretary to the London Missionary Society.

HENRY VENN, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

EDWARD B. UNDERHILL, Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society.

WILLIAM B. BOYCE, Secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

The following is the Emperor's reply to the above memorial:—

AUX TUILERIES, *le 24 Janvier 1865.*

MESSIEURS, — J'ai reçu les réclamations que vous m'avez adressées relativement aux dispositions récemment prises dans les isles de Loyalty par le gouverneur de la Nouvelle Calédonie. Je sais écrire au Commandant Guillaïn pour blâmer toute mesure qui mettrait une entrave au libre exercice de votre ministère dans ces contrées lointaines. Je suis assuré que loin de susciter des difficultés aux representans de l'autorité Française, la mission Protestante, comme la mission Catholique, l'aideront à répandre chez les indigènes de l'archipel les bienfaits du Christianisme et de la civilisation.

Recevez, Messieurs, l'assurance de mes sentimens distingués.

NAPOLÉON.

Translation.

TUILERIES, *24th January 1865.*

GENTLEMEN, — I have received the memorial which you addressed to me relative to the measures recently taken in the Loyalty islands by the governor of New Caledonia. I am writing to Commandant Guillaïn to censure any measure which would impose a restraint upon the free exercise of your ministry in those distant lands. I feel assured that, far from raising any difficulties in the way of the representatives of French authority, the Protestant mission, as well as the Catholic, will seek to diffuse among the natives of the archipelago the benefits of Christianity and civilisation.

Receive, gentlemen, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

NAPOLÉON.

The Christian public received with gratitude and complete satisfaction the above announcement by the Emperor of the French of sentiments so liberal and just, feeling assured, no doubt, that they would be carried out with integrity by the authorities in New Caledonia and the Loyalty group. They were, in consequence, agreeably pacified, whilst the governor proceeded to put his own construction upon the Emperor's letter, restoring us as little as possible of the liberty of action which we formerly enjoyed, and surrounding us by a network of rules and regulations, which not only prevented us from extending our mission, but also seriously impeded the moral and intellectual advancement of the native Christians.

After the arrival of the January mail, I received a communication from the governor, of which the following is a translation :—

NEW CALEDONIA AND DEPENDENCIES,
SECRETARIAT OF THE GOVERNOR,
No. 20.

PORT-DE-FRANCE, *January 15, 1865.*

SIR,—I have just received from his Excellency the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies the instructions which I asked from him relative to the English Protestant ministers at Lifu and Mare after my visit to those islands.

I have, in consequence, the honour to make known to you, in the name of the Emperor's Government, that you may rely upon the protection of France, and that if you open schools and obtain land, as you have desired, you must comply with the general rules of our possessions. The first of these authorisations will be accorded to you when you fulfil the conditions desired by the rule of the 15th October 1863 upon public instruction. As to the second, you already possess it, seeing that the property which you occupy has been secured to you since October 21, 1864.

I should inform you that you will not in any way be hindered at Lifu in the exercise of your religious ministry so long as it does not result in anything contrary to our authority.

In sending you this communication, which not only expresses the intentions of his Majesty's Government, but also my own sentiments about liberty of worship and the intellectual advancement of the populations committed to my care, I do not think it unnecessary to remind you, sir, that the religious is entirely distinct from the political, and that you must scrupulously abstain from all interference with the judicious affairs and administration of the colony, conforming yourself, moreover, as all other residents, to the rules, regulations, and decisions of the Local Government.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my highest considerations,
The Governor of New Caledonia and Dependencies.

(Signed) GUILLAIN.

The following is my reply to the above:—

TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW CALEDONIA AND DEPENDENCIES.

CHEPENEHE, LIFU, *January 30th, 1865.*

SIR,—I have the honour of having received your letter of the 15th inst., communicating the determinations of his Majesty's the Emperor's Government with respect to liberty of worship, and rejoice to find them the expression of your own sentiments upon so important a subject.

Allow me to assure your Excellency that I will adhere most scrupulously to the distinction between the religious and the political, and strive to the utmost of my ability to promote the intellectual advancement of your subjects upon this island, being now, happily, relieved from giving advice upon some subjects which I may have considered to be my duty in the absence of an administration.

I humbly yet earnestly request your Excellency to be guided by *facts*, and not *reports*, with reference to the moral and intellectual condition of the population of this island; and I trust that the future will prove that this people can be good Protestants and faithful French subjects, also that English ministers can exercise the functions of their office in a French colony without Anglicising the population.

I remain, Sir, with sentiments of profound respect, your faithful
Servant, S. M'FARLANE.

I was at Mr Sleigh's station, fifty miles off, when the governor's letter arrived—it was forwarded by the commandant—and upon its reception we at once rang the church bell to collect the people in order to communicate to them the joyful news. The natives were delighted to see and hear us again in our official capacity ; for six months we had been obliged to sit and listen to them, not always, I fear, with profit. All were heartily glad to receive the news, and to join in thanksgiving and praise to the Giver of all good and the Controller of all events. After the service, which we held in the morning, I rode home, where I arrived about six o'clock the same evening. On the following day I had an interview with the commandant, when he handed me a copy of an oath that we were required to take. The following is a translation:—

I swear and promise to God upon the Sacred Scriptures obedience to the Colonial Government. I promise also not to have any intelligence, or hold any league, either within or without, or assist in any council which may be contrary to the established order ; and if in my church or elsewhere I learn that anything is being concocted prejudicial to the colony, I will make it known to the Government.

To be taken between the hands of the commandant of the Loyalty islands by each Protestant minister before resuming his functions.

The Commandant of the Loyalty Islands.

(Signed) E. D. TREVE.

The following is my reply :—

TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE LOYALTY ISLANDS.

CHEPENEHE, *January 31st, 1865.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of an oath which you desire me to take, promising—

1st, Obedience to the Colonial Government.

2d, Not to co-operate with any person or persons in any measure which is contrary to the established order of the colony.

3d, To render certain services to the Colonial Government.

You will pardon me, sir, in informing you that I regard this form as utterly superfluous, having already complied with the first, and the fact of my being an ordained Christian minister supplies a sufficient guarantee for the second and third.

Although the spirit of the oath is in perfect harmony with my own sentiments, yet I object to the form, as it implies a want of confidence, and also because I am not, and have no desire to be, in any way connected with the Government of this colony, or that of any other country. I wish neither to receive State pay nor to become a Government agent. I ask only to be *protected* in the prosecution of my evangelistic labours; my letter from his Excellency the governor assures me of that protection, and I rely upon the honour of his Government. I, in return, assure your Government that I will ever strive to maintain peace and order among the natives of this colony, and exert my influence to make them loyal and intelligent French subjects. An oath in either case is unnecessary. "Actions speak louder than words." Consequently I refer to my conduct during recent events as a proof of my desire to act in accordance with the spirit of the oath which you have sent to me.

I remain, Sir, &c.

S. M'FARLANE.

We had reason to consider it probable that we should be asked to receive Government pay, so I took the above early opportunity of expressing our sentiments upon the subject, informing the commandant, when we next met, that, from principle, we had no desire to have any official connection with the Government, and that the sacredness of a minister's promise could not be very much augmented by an oath, for he who was base enough to break the former would not scruple to violate the latter. The commandant referred the matter to the governor, who considered my letter sufficient.

With my reply to the governor's letter I sent two other

communications—one asking permission to put in circulation four small works in the Lifu language which had been printed at Mare, and two of which the ex-commandant of the Loyalty islands had forbidden to be circulated, copies of which I forwarded to his Excellency; the other asking to be allowed to reopen the native seminary for the training of native pastors and pioneer teachers, also the day-schools at the different stations where teachers are located, by whom they would be conducted as before, under my superintendence.

We in our simplicity supposed, that having received the instructions of the Imperial Government relative to the Protestant mission in the Loyalty group, the governor would be disposed to allow us to resume our former labours; in this, however, we were grievously disappointed. We soon perceived that “liberty of worship,” like all other kinds of liberty, admits of a variety of meanings, according to the dispositions of the mind. To those who presented the memorial to the Emperor, and to whom his Majesty addressed his reply, “liberty of worship” meant one thing; to M. Guillain, the reputed severe captain of a man-of-war, to whom the Government of New Caledonia was for a time committed, it meant quite another. His Excellency, in answer to my communications, intimated to me, through the commandant, that they gave rise to questions which could not be very well explained in a correspondence, and that he would like to speak with me about them *vivâ voce*, offering me a passage to New Caledonia in a Government steamer, adding that he thought such an interview would be for

the good of the cause which I represented in the Loyalty group. As my chief concern was to promote this cause, I did not hesitate about accepting the invitation, although it would have been more gratifying to receive written replies to my letters granting the desired liberty of action in our work. To one demand only had the governor acceded—viz., to be allowed to put in circulation the books mentioned above, stating that it would be necessary in future to obtain like permission for each book, a copy of which must be sent for their inspection.

From what we already knew of the governor, we had reason to fear that he was little disposed to allow us to reopen our village schools and the Institution, and that he would only be led to do so from a pressure being brought to bear upon him from without; this pressure he now began to feel in his instructions from the Home Government, which appears to have led him to alter his tactics. In his dealing with us he had hitherto been exceedingly arbitrary, but the consequences of his conduct had recoiled most completely upon himself. His superior and inferior officers alike publicly blamed his conduct at Lifu; and the journals and periodicals, from the *Times* downwards, were even more severe. He now had recourse to conciliatory measures, by which he hoped to silence us without removing the restrictions by which we were fettered in our work; but “John Bull” prefers substantial “roast-beef and plum-pudding” to bonbons and jujubes.* Kindness and hospitality are very good

* Although, by the way, history reminds us that although he is generally conqueror in the field, he is often conquered in drawing up treaties, especially by the French.

things, but poor substitutes for the "liberty of worship" and impartiality of administration which we were seeking. I was kindly received by the governor at New Caledonia, and had the honour of being his guest for three weeks. He is a very agreeable fatherly old gentleman in private; divested of a little of his mannerism, he would pass for a "fine old English gentleman." He would not allow me, however, to conduct an English service with the Protestant residents at Port-de-France, nor did he accord to me the desired permission to reopen the Institution and the schools; so that upon my return to Lifu I did not feel that the result of my visit was very satisfactory. The church was still occupied by the soldiers, and the church bell still used for the camp, whilst I was obliged to call the natives together for worship with a wooden gong, and assemble them in a native house. The houses in which the soldiers were living had been constructed by the natives in three days, so that the commandant might easily have removed the camp and restored the church to us a week after the instructions from the Imperial Government arrived, had he felt so disposed; this, however, was not done until six months afterwards, and only then after my strong remonstrance to the governor on the subject.

The object of the Government appears to be to give the natives what they term a *national education*. Wherever a military post is established, there a Government school is commenced, and a soldier appointed as school-master. This was the case at Lifu, but still no reason why all our village schools should be closed throughout

the island, even supposing the Government school to be all we could desire, which, alas! is very far from being the case—indeed it is scarcely anything we could wish. The boys, by their constant intercourse with the soldiers, and by the scarcity of food, which the natives have to provide, learn the filthiest vices, and become proverbial thieves. But even, I say, supposing the school to be all that we could desire, what are the sixty boys forced into it from the three islands compared with their population of 15,000? The natives are now obliged to teach each other as best they can, and in this they succeed to a very remarkable degree. Most of the young people can read and write pretty well. Sabbath schools are not prohibited, and we make the best of this valuable Institution.

Feeling the importance of having a well-educated native ministry, and liberty to circulate freely the Scriptures in the native dialect, and being unable to obtain from the governor either by letter or by personal interviews (he often took the latter mode of answering my letters) the liberty in our operations which the Emperor's letter led us to expect, I drew up and forwarded to his Excellency the following letter, which he doubtless perceived was intended to bring matters to an issue:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF NEW CALEDONIA AND
DEPENDENCIES.

CHEPENEHE, LIFU, April 28, 1866.

SIR,—All who are acquainted with our principles as Protestants are aware of the importance which we attach to a *well-educated ministry*, and the *free circulation of the Bible in the vernacular tongue* (as light

and Protestantism go hand in hand). Any attempt to suppress the one or restrict the other would be considered as a direct blow at Protestantism by the entire Protestant world.

We rejoice, however, to find from the following letters, copies of which I have now before me, that the Government of your distinguished country has no intention to offer the least opposition to the work of Protestant missionaries, the most prominent, essential, and arduous of which is to translate the Scriptures and train native pastors.

The letter of his Majesty the Emperor addressed to the memorialists of the different missionary societies of England, indicates that his Majesty will *condemn any measure which might impede the free exercise of our ministry in these seas.*

The French Minister for Foreign Affairs assured her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, that *so far from there being any desire on the part of the Imperial Government to discourage the labours of Protestant missionaries in the Loyalty group, there was every disposition to foster and protect them.*

The French Minister of Marine and the Colonies, in a communication addressed to the Rev. William Tyler, acknowledging a letter which that gentleman had addressed to the Emperor, says, that *the Protestant missionaries have but to make the demand to open schools in conformity with the usual regulations, and the authorisation will be immediately accorded.*

The above communications are in perfect harmony with the one which I had the honour to receive from your Excellency in January 1865.

The announcement of sentiments so truly enlightened and just by such distinguished personages has naturally led us to expect that freedom and security which it appears the Emperor intends to grant, and which is all that we desire, but which, as I stated verbally to your Excellency during your recent visit to Lifu, we have not yet realised. It is the consideration of these sentiments, however, which now leads me to repeat my request to be allowed to reopen the native seminary, which was closed on the 24th May 1864 by the order of Captain Bourgey, ex-commandant of the Loyalty islands. Also my request to be permitted to circulate amongst the natives the different portions of the Bible in the Lifu language, *without comment*, as they arrive from the press. The well-known contents of the Bible, and the equally well-known integrity of Protestant missionaries in translating it into a foreign tongue, is surely a sufficient guarantee, without the unnecessary

delay occasioned by transmitting a copy of each portion to Port-de-France, and waiting until you procure a translation before you decide whether it shall be placed in the hands of the natives or not. Copies of any other books in the native language will first be submitted to the approval of the Colonial Government, according to request, before being circulated amongst the natives.

We hope that your Excellency will render any appeal to the Home Government on our part unnecessary, by generously and justly according the solicited permission, which will simply be permitting a work which the Emperor says shall *not be impeded*, and which the Minister of Foreign Affairs says there is *a disposition to foster and protect*, and which the Minister of Marine and the Colonies says *shall be accorded immediately upon application*.

The reopening of the native seminary, which will be expressly for adults, will not in any way interfere with the Government school, which is expressly for boys.

With sentiments of profound respect, I remain, Sir, your faithful Servant,

S. M'FARLANE.

In answer to the above communication, we received permission to circulate amongst the natives the different portions of the Bible as they were translated and printed without first submitting a copy to the inspection of the Government; also permission to reopen the native seminary, after some preliminary correspondence about the programme of instruction. This was a step in the right direction which both we and our people thoroughly appreciated, and for which we thanked God and took courage.

XVII.

A GLANCE AT SOME OF THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF THE GROUP—WHAT HAVE THE INSTIGATORS GAINED?—THE OBJECT OF THE PRIESTS—THE NATIVES CONFIRMED IN THE TRUTH AND POWER OF THE GOSPEL—OTHER INSTIGATORS—WHAT THE GOVERNMENT GAINED—THE RESULT TO THE NATIVES—WHAT BECAME OF UKENIZO—RELIGION ENFORCED, RESULT—SUICIDAL POLICY—PROTESTANTISM STRENGTHENED.

HAVING now arrived at a point where we had recovered as much of our liberty of action as we could reasonably expect to obtain from the French, let us pause and look round upon some of the results of the French occupation of the Loyalty group. Seeing that the governor was publicly blamed for the measures which he had adopted during his expedition to Lifu, it was thought by some that the natives and the London Missionary Society would receive some redress—the former having had their relatives shot, their villages burnt, their plantations destroyed, and many of their boxes with their contents stolen; and property of the latter having been taken or destroyed to the value of about £200. No redress, however, was made—indeed none was sought by the London Missionary Society, the directors being satisfied with the liberal announcement of the Emperor with reference to their mission in the group. The natives appealed in vain to the commandant about the restoration of their canoes,

fishing-nets, clothing, &c., which were in the hands of the Roman Catholics. It was evident to all that what the Protestants obtained was forced from the Colonial Government by foreign interference.

First, then, What had the priests gained by the arrival of the soldiers? When at New Caledonia, the governor told me distinctly that the priests were the instigators of the whole affair. I have in my possession a letter sent to me by one of the priests residing on Lifu (a most ungentlemanly Jesuitical epistle, full of all kinds of abusive language and threats on account of my sending the young men from the Institution to preach the gospel to the heathen in the district where he is located, a district which has always contained more Protestants than Roman Catholics), in which he informs me that he has written about me to Port-de-France, and will write again by the first opportunity. It is also well known that his colleague called the Roman Catholic chief Ukenizo into his house and gave him a sealed letter for the Government at New Caledonia, saying, "This is *your* letter to the governor, requesting him to send soldiers to Lifu to punish the heretics who have so long disobeyed and annoyed you." The chief took the letter, and sent it by the first opportunity by the person next to him in authority (one of the few really devoted Roman Catholics amongst the natives of Lifu), very soon after which the soldiers arrived.

What object had the priests in view? The history of Popery in any country where it has been able to influence the State will furnish an answer. They had tried in

vain to *draw* the natives into the arms of the "Mother Church," so they sought the means to *drive* them there. Strange that Popery does not learn from history that the tendency of persecution has generally been to benefit the cause persecuted. Lifu has been no exception to this rule. Popery lost, and Protestantism gained. The true character of each appeared in striking contrast; and just as light looks brighter when contrasted with darkness, and truth clearer when opposed to error, so Christianity, in its simplicity and purity, appears more divine and reasonable when placed side by side with its dazzling caricature, Popery. The eyes of the natives were opened; they saw the power that threatened to destroy Protestantism obliged to recognise and protect it. They had seen it, like Lazarus, dead and buried, as far as the State was concerned. For a few months the Protestants had mourned over the grave of their missionaries, teachers, schools, books, and the ordinances of religion. They were told that there was no hope of their recovery, and urged to regard the priests as their spiritual guides. Jesus came; the time had arrived for the manifestation of His power. Lazarus was called forth. The missionaries were re-established in their offices, to be recognised and protected by the Government; the ordinances of religion were restored, and nearly the whole of the machinery for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people was again set in motion. The natives stood by astonished and delighted at this remarkable and sudden change, recognising, like the Jews at the grave of Lazarus, the power of God. The Roman Catholics were bewildered,

the priests having positively affirmed that the English missionaries would not be permitted to resume their labours in the Loyalty group, and that Protestantism had received its deathblow. The result led them to look with suspicion on their spiritual fathers, whom they had sought in order to overthrow and abolish the religion of their enemies. It is not difficult to conceive what the feelings of the priests were as they beheld their schemes frustrated, their hopes dashed, their veracity questioned by their followers, their cause weakened, and that which they hated and sought to extinguish rising again with its former strength. In their blind impetuosity they had thrown fuel on the fire which they desired to extinguish.

Other instigators of the expedition to Lifu belong to a class of abandoned characters who "vegetate" on the islands of the South Seas, distinguished by their lounging, lazy, immoral, cruel habits, quite a disgrace to their country. (I am happy to be able to say, however, that I know several very worthy exceptions.) These men hate everything that places upon them the least restraint; they like to prowl about the islands and do just as they please, referring all difficulties to the revolver stuck in their belt, which is their constant companion. One of these "gentlemen" arrived at Lifu from the Southern States of America, where he had been a "slave-driver." He very soon found that the Lifuans were by no means prepared to submit to his "discipline" as quietly as the slaves of South America had done. As might be expected, he very soon got into difficulties with them, and

they very unceremoniously tied him to a cocoanut-tree for half an hour. (In nearly all such cases the missionary gets the blame, as though natives, after ten or twenty years' instruction, with an established code of laws, were not capable of acting in such matters themselves. I knew nothing of the above affair until a native told me that W—ms had been tied to a cocoanut-tree by the native policemen. He would have remained there much longer had I not advised the natives to release him.) He had probably never received such treatment at the hands of "niggers" before, and was consequently greatly enraged and indignant. Being unable to use the whip out of a tender regard for himself, he resolved to see what he could do through the Government at New Caledonia. Others of his sort joined him; but as he was considered the best scholar, and withal a man of "position," the task of drawing up a complaint was assigned to him. This paper arriving at the Government office about the same time as the priest's letter, to which I have referred, helped, no doubt, to lead his Excellency to decide upon the expedition. These men, however, like the priests, defeated their own object by urging the occupation of Lifu by the French. They hated the restraints under which they were placed by native laws; but no sooner were these abolished than they found themselves pressed on all sides by innumerable "rules and regulations," which led most of them to leave the island.

Let us now see what the Government has gained by the occupation of the group. What did they seek? An

officer of the expedition assured me that they came to keep the English out and to make the islands French. The idea of keeping the English out of the barren rocks that compose the Loyalty group is quite a farce. Our valuable colonies show that *John Bull* is a little more ambitious in his selections of territory, and can well afford to allow his chivalrous neighbour the undisturbed possession of such islands, *nuggets* being more attractive to him than *blocks of coral*. But suppose they gain their object, where will be the advantage? Is it an honour to be able to count islands like those among the possessions of the French? Is there much "glory" to be gained in subduing a simple, inoffensive, unarmed people? Can it be a matter of very great importance to the French that the "British appearance" of those islands should be changed, and the French language spoken by the natives? Can the colour of the rags which the natives attach to the masts of their canoes affect the French Government? Or would it have added much to the happiness of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon to know that a few semi-civilised natives have been led to cry "Vive l'Empereur!"? The end in no way justified the means, yet there is no prospect of the end being accomplished. The French are *feared* by the natives, not *loved*; they have not yet displayed any of those qualities towards the natives calculated to excite their respect and love. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants now regard them as their oppressors. Censured by the public and disclaimed by the Emperor, within and without the conduct of the Colonial Government was disapproved.

There has been, and continues to be, considerable outlay without any income, or the prospect of any, except a few pounds from Europeans for land and timber.

But what about the natives—how have they fared? Alas! those who could spare least have lost most. The weakest have to bear the heaviest burdens. In addition to the loss of life and property which I have already mentioned, the natives were forced to work in gangs by turns at the camp without any remuneration or even food. Many of them reside at a distance of *fifty miles* from the camp, requiring two days to go and two to return, and having to remain a week at work, so that they were obliged to carry a good quantity of food with them. Not only so, but every village was required to take a weekly supply of food for the boys in the Government school. A corporal stood over the natives whilst at work with a stick, which he sometimes used pretty freely, but not always with impunity. Now and then he mistook his man, and got his blows returned with interest; the native knowing that he would be imprisoned, did not spare him on such occasions. All natives that work for the Government at Noumea are paid and fed, why should not those who work at the camp at Lifu be similarly treated? When the natives saw that the French were obliged to respect the persons and property of foreigners, they sighed and said, “You have somebody who cares for you; but nobody cares for us, we are black.” Theirs is certainly a hard case. The enormity of some crimes has often appeared greatly modified by its being known that the perpetrator had committed them in order

to execute a benevolent object ; but what can be said in favour of the oppression of the natives in the Loyalty group ? What object can the French have in view that will in any way compensate or justify the course they have pursued ? It cannot be a political or a commercial one, for the islands are valueless. Philanthropy would surely have led them to leave the island in the hands of Christian missionaries, to whom 15,000 souls is a sufficiently powerful attraction. I can see no object but that assigned by one of the officers, "Glory ! glory ! what does a Frenchman live for but glory ?" Nobody, I am sure, will envy them the "glory" which they have acquired. This is not the only instance where rushing to "glory" leads to *shame*.

Let us now turn to Ukenizo, who had vigorously opposed the introduction of Christianity amongst his people, and sent for the Roman Catholic priest to impede its progress and secure the punishment of his disobedient subjects. In his case, as in many others who have opposed the truth, the consequences of his conduct recoiled most completely upon himself. The French had not been long at Lifu before Ukenizo and his satellites became painfully conscious of having made a grievous and suicidal mistake. In their simplicity they supposed that having sent for *help*, the soldiers would be at their beck, and to a considerable extent under their control ! Like our forefathers, however, they found to their infinite disgust that the *helpers* became masters and oppressors, by whom they were treated as servants and slaves.

The priests, ever ready to avail themselves of the civil

power, and finding in the commandant a man after their own heart, determined to force Ukenizo and his court to abandon their heathen practices and conform to the requirements of their adopted religion. They were accordingly informed that their harems must be broken up, that they were each to select one of their wives to whom they were to be married, and that Ukenizo was to prepare for baptism! They had evidently not anticipated such orders, and had invited the French for a very different purpose; they knew, however, that it was useless to resist, so they reluctantly complied. As might be expected, the *seijol*, or breaking up of the harems, was merely nominal. Ukenizo's uncle—who was the chief of Wetre *de facto*, Ukenizo being guided by his counsel—was the first who openly recalled his wives, for which he was put in prison and in irons. His party was greatly enraged at this indignity, and declared they would become Protestants. Ukenizo now became as anxious to get rid of his assistants as he had been to obtain them, and endeavoured to prevail upon the Protestants to join him in an attempt to kill or drive them from the island; the Protestants, however, knew well that such an attempt must prove disastrous to themselves, consequently they wisely declined the honour of again being brought into such close contact with his guests. None were found willing to join him; discarded by the priests and the majority of the Roman Catholics, he was ultimately taken by the commandant and sent in irons to New Caledonia for attempting to excite rebellion. He was allowed to return after a time, but no

longer to be regarded as chief. He still lives in retirement, and often expresses his deep regret at having invited either priests or soldiers to Lifu.

Protestantism and English influence, the two objects of attack respectively by the priests and Government, so far from being destroyed or even weakened, appeared to gain fresh vigour from the efforts made to suppress them. It became evident to the natives that the gospel in its purity and simplicity, as they had been taught it from the Bible, was not only "the power of God unto salvation," but also a power upon earth which influenced the highest in authority on behalf of the most abject and helpless; this led them to cling with greater tenacity to the faith in which they had been instructed. On the other hand, the authorities had succeeded in exciting their fears; but with their fears grew their hatred, for they saw that they were most unjustly oppressed. The treatment which they received was little calculated to inspire respect or confidence—both of which might have been easily gained—it produced fear and secured obedience; but it also increased their respect for and attachment to the English, for whom they had manifested such culpable predilections.

We found that the Protestant churches, at the period of which I am writing, instead of being broken up or weakened, were in fact in a healthier and more prosperous condition than they were before the arrival of the French, although no thanks to those concerned in the expedition. True, we were still prohibited from reinstating their former teachers or reopening their

schools; yet the work had received an impetus in other respects which compensated for this. And had there been no further interferences with our work, we should have had no just cause of further complaint; but, unhappily, their restless anxiety to effect a transformation which must be the work of years, urged those sent to command the Loyalty group to adopt the most unjust, arbitrary, and contemptible measures in order to destroy our influence with the natives and impede our work. I will now proceed to give a brief account of some of these acts.

XVIII.

OPPOSITION WHERE THERE SHOULD HAVE BEEN COMMENDATION—SHOULD DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE NATION AND THE INDIVIDUAL—NATIONALITY—DISINTERESTED MOTIVES—CAUSE OF THE NATIVE DISLIKE TO THE FRENCH—ANTI-FRENCH FEELING ON NEW CALEDONIA—SUSPICIONS AND SEVERITY—PERSONAL ANNOYANCES—NATIVE TEACHERS AND OFFICE-BEARERS MARKED MEN—THE GREAT MISTAKE OF THE FRENCH IN THE LOYALTY GROUP FROM THE COMMENCEMENT—THE TREATMENT OF PROTESTANT CHIEFS—BULA'S CASE—ENTERS THE SEMINARY—ORDERED TO LEAVE—FREQUENTLY CALLED TO THE CAMP—COMMANDANT SENDS FOR THE PEOPLE OUT OF CHURCH—BULA IMPRISONED—PRIEST'S CHARGE AGAINST BULA—BULA SENT TO NEW CALEDONIA IN IRONS—TREATED KINDLY BY THE RESIDENTS—BULA'S VISIT TO THE ISLE OF PINES—RUMOURS UPON HIS RETURN—GREAT CHANGE IN THE COMMANDANT'S CONDUCT TO BULA—CONSULTATION—FURTHER HINTS—CRUELTY TO PRISONERS—ATTEMPTS TO COME INTO COLLISION WITH THE NATIVES—THE SKIRMISH AT NAEU.

STRANGE that we should have to date the interruption of our evangelistic labours from the period of the arrival of the French! The occupation of the Loyalty group by a nation that claims to be in the very van of civilisation, and prides itself upon granting liberty of worship to all throughout its dominions, ought rather to be an auspicious event in the history of our mission, and secure for us the commendation and support of the authorities; as the diffusion of our principles amongst the natives, so far from forming a formidable obstacle to the professed designs of their Government, is eminently calculated to

facilitate their accomplishment. We must be careful, however, to distinguish between the acts of a great, enlightened, and liberal people, and those of a few despotic officers to whom the command of a colony has been entrusted. We should also remember that although the Roman Catholic priests are allowed to prosecute their work, and their efforts to proselytise are often openly facilitated, that this does not arise from any preference of the authorities either for their persons or principles, both of which I find to be generally in bad repute. It is to be attributed solely to their *nationality*. Our presence is offensive in the Loyalty group simply because we are *English*, and are therefore supposed to *Anglicise* the natives, over whom we are known to possess great influence. A little reflection, however, would surely lead them to a very different conclusion. We are the voluntary agents of a benevolent society, living far away from those dear to us, and from civilised life, on low coral islands, without the possibility of personal aggrandisement, striving to spread abroad the moral, social, and spiritual blessings of our common Christianity, which we believe to be the best and quickest way of securing life and property, and making the natives loyal, intelligent, peaceful, and happy. From their own account, our efforts have been attended with remarkable success. It must be evident to all that we seek the *good of the natives*. Now, it certainly would *not* be promoting their welfare to “Anglicise” them, for the “Anglicised” have been painfully and frequently reminded that *they* are not those whom the authorities delight to honour.

The true friends of the natives (which I trust we are) will seek rather to reconcile them to their position, occasioned by the occupation of the islands by the French.

That the natives dislike and distrust their rulers is a notorious fact, yet one that is easily accounted for, considering the treatment which they have received at their hands; but to charge us with the natural consequences of their administration is a manifest injustice. They proceed to Lifu (where the French flag has scarcely ever been seen before, and where the natives have had intercourse with English ships and resident traders for more than twenty years), seize their land, burn their houses, destroy their property, shoot some of the natives and imprison others, force them to work without giving them food or pay, drive their teachers from the island, silence their missionaries, close their schools, prohibit the distribution of books, make themselves vile in the eyes of all by their gross and disgusting immorality, and then complain that they are not respected! Are the natives to love bullets, bayonets, galleys, and prisons? Is it to be wondered at that they regard us as their benefactors and the French as their oppressors? The feeling is as strong on New Caledonia, where there are no English missionaries. Englishmen, I am told by the traders, are perfectly safe throughout the island. The English language is the best passport amongst the natives, so that it cannot be English missionaries who have "Anglicised" the population. Yet upon this supposition our peaceful labours have been invaded; and when the noble sentiments publicly expressed by his

Majesty the Emperor gained for us liberty to preach the gospel again to our people, we were surrounded by a network of rules and regulations which precludes the possibility of extending our mission, or even carrying it on efficiently amongst our own people. We were subjected to a variety of annoyances and hindrances: our motives were impugned; our native teachers imprisoned and driven from their posts unjustly; our people persecuted, imprisoned, heavily fined, and even flogged with a horse-whip for the most trivial offences, and all our operations placed under the most contemptible *surveillance*. I will give a few illustrations, which it would be easy to multiply, from the numerous instances supplied by a six years' mal-administration of the Loyalty group.

It would appear that at one time they entertained the hope of driving us away by annoying us personally and treating our converts with severity. If I took my family to a neighbouring village upon one of their birthdays, a soldier was sent to stand by during our stay. If I got a log of wood cut on my premises, a soldier was sent to see where it came from, and required to be shown the stump of the tree to be assured that it had not been stolen. At one of my out-stations the natives were told by the commandant himself not to assist in hauling my boat on the beach, although there was so high a surf on that without their assistance not only the boat but our lives were in danger. Native dances were revived by the commandant, who was often present, and sometimes remained through the whole night with the

natives ; and the place selected for these noisy nocturnal nuisances was right opposite our house. Orders were given to demolish our bathing-house because it was erected on Government ground ! although it was situated in an unfrequented nook three miles from the camp. If the natives brought us a present of yams, they were required to do the same for the commandant. If they thatched our house, they had extra work given them at the camp. The native teachers, young men in the seminary, deacons, Sabbath-school teachers, and Church members were all marked men, who often saw the interior of the prison without knowing why they were placed there, for there was no such thing as trial. They were sent for from their villages, and upon their arrival at the camp conducted to prison without ever seeing the commandant, being informed through the grating of the small aperture in the prison wall by some of their friends of the charges brought against them. The commandant told me that he could regard these men in no other light than as the component parts of a political organisation on the island ! so that, in his efforts to obstruct and even destroy our work, he professed to be actuated by a conscientious patriotic feeling. A better knowledge of us would have modified his opinions, and led him to adopt a very different course of procedure. Their great mistake from the first, which led to so much cruelty and injustice, consisted in their regarding Lifu as *Anglicised* instead of *Christianised*. Had they looked upon the community as one emerging from heathenism under the guidance of English Protestant leaders, they would have

understood the natives better. Had they looked upon us more as Christian philanthropists than as "political agents of the English Government sent out to extend British influence," they would have understood us better. Had they commenced their work of nationalising the population by treating them more as an ignorant *family* than a rebellious *camp*, they would have succeeded better; but this was not their plan. They evidently tried to break their spirit by harsh treatment. Professedly allowing liberty of worship, they plainly taught the natives by their acts, that to draw near to the English missionary was sure to draw down upon themselves the disapproval and vengeance of the Government.

As an illustration of the treatment which Protestant chiefs received, I will instance the case of the young and amiable Bula which was ultimately brought before a Commission of Inquiry, appointed by the Imperial Government to investigate the persecution of Protestants in the Loyalty group.

Bula is the son of old blind Bula, who received and protected the native teacher Pao and his associates. He is the most powerful chief in the Loyalty group, his territory including the greater part of Lifu, the islands of Toka, and the small islands between Lifu and Mare; and his subjects numbering over four thousand. He was a mere boy when Christianity began to be a power in Lifu; and, attaching himself to the teachers, and subsequently to the missionaries, he grew up under its benign influence to be an intelligent, amiable, earnest

Christian. His great desire was to become a pioneer teacher to some heathen land. In vain did we try to show him that he might probably serve his God better by remaining in his own country, where he had great influence. He said that he had no desire to rule as a king, he wished to work for God as a teacher, he had been on a cruise with Bishop Patteson amongst the heathen islands, and was anxious to take to them that gospel which had done so much for his own land. Two years after his application, he was admitted into the Institution (having appointed his brother to the chiefdom), where he was prosecuting his studies when the French arrived at Lifu and closed our schools. Upon the reopening of the seminary he returned with the other students, no doubt more anxious than ever to go abroad. The commandant, however, persisted in regarding him as head chief of the Lösi district, and on two occasions he was taken from the Institution and imprisoned on account of there being a deficiency in the number of Lösi men to work at the camp. He made several applications, both by letter and in person, to the governor and the commandant, to be allowed to carry out his desire of becoming a pioneer teacher; and although he was informed by the latter, in the presence of the chiefs, that he would be permitted to do so, which led him to continue his studies, he was still held responsible for whatever happened in his district, and ultimately ordered to leave the seminary and return to his home. Then commenced a systematic course of shameful severity. He was seldom allowed to remain a few weeks together at his home.

Had the distance been five miles instead of fifty, he could not have been called to appear before the commandant more frequently; and as he walked along that stony, dreary road, and met those who informed him of the escape of a Lösi lad from the school at the camp, or the lack of labourers from his district, or the neglect of some of his people to take the usual tax of pigs, yams, fowls, and cotton, his heart would sink within him through fear of the "Kalaboose," in the smallest cell of which he was often lodged for a week or ten days for such *crimes*. On one occasion (while he was still a student in the seminary), the commandant made a tour through the island. He arrived at Mu on a Sabbath afternoon during the hour of worship, and was received by Bula's brother and some of the leading men. He angrily demanded why the natives were not assembled to receive him, and was told that they were at church (English influence and English notions again!) He sent a messenger to the church to tell the natives that they were to meet him at once. The native durst not disobey, yet he knew better than to make such an announcement in church during the service, so he went quietly up the pulpit stairs and whispered the message to the Rev. J. Sleigh, leaving him to deliver it or not as he pleased. That gentleman, knowing that the commandant would spend a day or two at Mu, did not consider the case so urgent as to require the immediate dismissal of the congregation. The consequence was, that the commandant forthwith wrote a note to the officer in charge at the camp (fifty miles off), upon the

reception of which Bula was sent for out of class and conducted to prison without any explanation whatever, where he remained in irons for ten days. No one appeared to doubt the object of these incarcerations : indeed the priests and their followers repeatedly told Bula and the other Protestant chiefs that they must expect such treatment until they became Roman Catholics; that theirs was the "chief's religion," and that if they did not embrace it, they would be put down and others appointed in their place. Bula told one of the priests that his (Bula's) religion did not lead them to expect *distinction* but *persecution*, which they were prepared to endure.

Hitherto Bula had been imprisoned for the alleged faults of his subjects, now a charge was brought against himself. The priest lodged a formal complaint against him at the camp for having, he said, forbidden one of his subjects to marry a Roman Catholic! This, the commandant affirmed, was a grave affair—a direct interference with personal liberty and freedom of worship, which required him to make an example of the offender in order to prevent the recurrence of the offence. Bula was accordingly placed in prison and in irons, and upon the arrival of a Government vessel, was sent on board, chained to a worthless fellow who had been guilty of stealing from one of the stores. His wife was ordered to accompany him. After they left Lifu, Bula's irons were taken off, and he was treated kindly. At Noumea he was kept prisoner at large for twelve months, being required to attend the Government school in order

to acquire the French language. There being no Protestant church in New Caledonia, this scheme was perhaps intended not only to remove Bula from "English influence," but to place him near the influence of proselytising priests. Amongst the European residents, however, there were some who gave Bula good advice, which encouraged him to hold fast the profession of his faith. By all, French as well as English and German, he was treated kindly. Upon his return to Lifu he found that the commandant's feelings towards him had not changed. He was accustomed, during his visits to Chepenehe, to lodge on the mission premises with the young men when not in prison; and when there we supplied him with food. He was now, however, forbidden to stay either there or in the village, and was required to lodge near the camp with the chief "Jack," whom they had appointed in Wainya's stead, and whose house was a perfect brothel, and we were not allowed any longer to supply him with food when in prison. Poor Bula! we felt deeply for him, and trembled for him too, for his Protestantism was severely put to the test. Although the commandant reiterated the orders of the Emperor, that there was to be liberty of worship in the Loyalty group, yet it was not difficult to read the lesson which his *acts* were evidently intended to teach. For instance, although Bula was so frequently required at the camp, he found no difficulty in obtaining permission to pay a four months' visit to the Isle of Pines, where all the natives are Roman Catholic. For ages there has been friendly communication between the natives of that island and

the people of Lifu, although their visits of late years have been few and far between. Their forefathers found it easier to cross sixty miles of sea in canoes, than the present generation do to overcome their religious prejudices. Bula was destined to have his faith further tried. In seeking to escape one enemy he rushed into the arms of another. In Lifu he had often been in prison, but his mind was free and his faith firm. On the Isle of Pines, however, he found a prison of a worse kind, where the Scriptures are proscribed, and the mind enslaved, and much of the religious services locked up in an unknown tongue. The priests and leading men of the island appeared to feel that their special mission was to convert Bula, and they set about their work with a will, giving the poor fellow no peace from the day of his arrival until the day of his departure, which would have been at a much earlier period had they not withheld one of the canoes, without which the whole party could not return, until Bula promised to consult with his people on his return to Lifu, about becoming Roman Catholics. One of the Isle of Pines' chiefs was appointed to accompany them to be present at the consultation. Upon their arrival at Lifu, it soon became rumoured amongst the Roman Catholics that Bula was about to embrace their religion. One of the priests wrote to him congratulating him upon his *having become* a Roman Catholic! and the other wrote to say that he would visit him in a few days at Mu. A fortnight before the consultation took place the commandant made a tour round the island, and remained *three weeks* at the resid-

ence of Bula, towards whom his conduct was completely changed. He made him presents, spoke kindly to him, associated with him, and promised to send a few soldiers to build a stone house for him, two of whom arrived and commenced the foundation during his visit (nothing more has yet been done to it). It was scarcely possible to misconceive the object of such conduct at such a time. Mr Sleight and I were busily engaged on the revision of the New Testament when the meeting of the principal men in Bula's district took place. We did not even know about it until after it was over—a sure sign that our people did not regard it in any serious light. Bula stated that he had promised, when at the Isle of Pines, to call them together upon his return, and ask them if they would become Roman Catholics. Here was the chief, let them give him their answer. An old man rose—a deacon of the church at Mu—and said, “Our answer to all who ask us to change our religion is, that we shall hold fast the one we have embraced until death.” The chief, after finding that the old man had expressed the sentiment of all, returned to the Isle of Pines, saying that he would not visit Lifu any more.

Whilst referring to Bula's case, I may mention that of another chief, one of Ukenizo's principal men—who abandoned the Roman Catholics and joined the Protestants, five years after the arrival of the French. As a Roman Catholic he had never been in prison, but he had not been a Protestant a month when he was imprisoned, and he assured me that he had no idea of the cause except that he had become Protestant. He

and another Roman Catholic chief had each taken their usual quantity of cotton and yams to the camp; the one was allowed to return to his home, whilst the other was put in prison.

Not only were the natives committed to prison for trivial and imaginary offences, but they were often cruelly treated as prisoners—indeed there was sometimes displayed a wanton disregard for human life. For instance, on one occasion, a few natives who considered that they were unjustly imprisoned, managed to make their escape; others of the same tribe, who were at work near the camp when they saw their friends running away, native like, ran too. The soldiers were ordered to pursue them immediately, who, seizing their guns and bayonets, commenced to chase with the glee of the worst class of slave owners. Those from the prison escaped, but one unfortunate and innocent man, who left his work and fled along the road, was pursued by a soldier, who happened to be a better runner than himself, and when overtaken was run through with a bayonet and fell dead. The soldier pretends that he was simply acting on the *defensive*, although the native had not any weapon either to attack or defend himself with. The murderer—for, under the circumstances, it was nothing less than a brutal murder—stated that, the native *turned round and took up a stone to throw at him!* which explanation appeared to satisfy the commandant, for the man did not receive any punishment whatever. I may just mention that this was the soldier sent by the commandant to be present at our picnic on Mrs M'Farlane's birthday.

There was a manifest desire on the part of the commandant to come into collision with the natives again. I have heard him regret that a greater number were not killed when they first arrived, and state as his opinion that it would be necessary to burn some of their villages, and kill more natives, in order to make them obedient and respectful. Not only were they made to work at the camp without receiving either food or pay, but the Protestants were fined—besides the tax of yams, cotton, and pigs which all had to pay—imprisoned, their pigs, turkeys, and fowls shot by the commandant and soldiers when they visited the villages, their wives and daughters insulted—even the daughter of one of the eastern teachers, and the widow of another, were seized by the commandant—and thus in a variety of ways they appeared to be trying to drive the natives to rebellion. Their eagerness for combat may be illustrated by the following incident:—

At a village thirty-five miles from the camp, two young men quarreled and came to blows. Natives, like Irishmen, fight generally with sticks. Other youths, the friends of each, became involved; and a regular skirmish took place, which might have terminated seriously, had not the older men hastened to the spot and put an end to the strife. We did not hear of it at Chepenehe until two days afterwards. The commandant, instead of sending for the culprits, or even the chief of the village, prepared to proceed thither himself. I had an interview with him before he left, and endeavoured to dissuade him from going, assuring him that I had

definite information from the teacher there, and that the affair was nothing serious. (The chief gave the commandant as a reason why he did not immediately inform him of the disturbance, that he did not consider it of sufficient importance.) He, however, professed to think otherwise, and started off with forty armed soldiers, telling me that if the natives fled from the village he should burn it down and fire upon any of them he could find. To fly to the bush upon the approach of the soldiers was just the very thing the natives were likely to do, and what I felt anxious, if possible, to prevent. No native was allowed to pass the soldiers on the road, but I succeeded in sending a young man by a bye-path, who arrived at the village before the soldiers, and prevailed upon the natives to await quietly the arrival of the commandant. They became excited and expressed their fears, but ultimately consented; so that, when the soldiers arrived, they found the natives all dressed and sitting on the grass at the entrance of the village, with a large pile of yams near them for a present to the commandant. To open fire upon this peaceful assembly was out of the question, and to destroy their village was equally so; yet to have walked thirty-five miles (and the most of it during the night), carrying their heavy arms, with the prospect of having to retrace their steps without either *sport* or *glory*, must have been exceedingly annoying. It was a very suitable punishment for that which they intended to inflict. After taking their revenge upon the fowls and pigs, they bound about twenty natives in couples, and marched them to the

camp. The fact of the guilty and the innocent being alike taken prisoners may have arisen from the want of a good interpreter. One of the young men happened to have something suspended from his neck that resembled the medals worn by the Roman Catholics; the commandant, upon seeing it, immediately ordered him to be released. The native did not think it worth while correcting his mistake. One of the prisoners, through fear and confinement, died. These instances will serve as an illustration of the sort of treatment which the Protestants received at that time.

XIX.

MISTAKEN IDEAS OF THE FRENCH—GOVERNOR'S DECISIONS—EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO THE REV. J. JEFFRIES OF ADELAIDE—OPPOSITION TO ENGLISH DISSENTERS—GOVERNOR'S DECISIONS—PERSECUTIONS AT UVEA—SUICIDAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—VISIT TO NUMEA—INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR—COPY OF LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR ABOUT OUR GENERAL WORK—SOLICITING PERMISSION TO SEND PIONEER TEACHERS—ASKING PERMISSION TO ERECT CHURCHES—THE TEACHER TEPESO'S REMOVAL FROM HIS STATION BY THE COMMANDANT—LAWSUIT PROSECUTED BY THE COMMANDANT—LETTER OF EXPLANATION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

It would be tedious and useless to enumerate the various ways in which we were annoyed and opposed in our work with the extravagant views which the authorities, at that time, entertained respecting us. It was natural that they should seek to destroy our influence over the natives, and, if possible, secure our departure from the islands. They evidently supposed that, by sending away the eastern teachers, to whom the natives were much attached, and who were under our control, they would thus be removing the cause and medium of our influence. When their mistake became apparent, and they saw the places of those worthy men filled by Lifu natives from the seminary, who were well received by their friends, other measures were adopted. The governor issued a number of "decisions," which were

placarded in the village. From them we learnt that no chief would be allowed to become a teacher. (This was because there was a young chief amongst the students.) That no native could exercise the functions of teacher without the sanction of the commandant. (This had special reference to the teachers labouring on Mare and Uvea.) That no teacher would be allowed to exercise the functions of his office, except on the island to which he belonged. (This was because we had Lifu teachers labouring on Uvea who were immediately sent home.) That natives were forbidden to leave the group. (This was because more than half the number of the students were preparing for foreign work.) And that no churches could be built without the express permission of the governor; also that all churches in the Loyalty group were to be henceforth regarded as Government property. By this order, three village churches which were being built of coral, were arrested, and although frequent applications were made to be allowed to proceed with the work, permission was not granted until four years afterwards, when the Imperial Commission of Inquiry was sent to Lifu to investigate our grievances. An idea of our position and prospects may be derived from the following letter, which I wrote to a friend about that time:—

You will perceive from the enclosed copies, and from what I have to communicate, that the position and prospects of our mission are somewhat altered, and are beginning to assume a rather serious aspect. I have already intimated to you that although the spirit of his Majesty the Emperor's letter has not been complied with, yet that we had acquired a greater degree of liberty than we dared to

anticipate, and hoped that a better acquaintance with us, and the objects which we have in view, would ultimately inspire greater confidence on the part of the Government, and lead them to accord the liberty guaranteed in the Emperor's letter. This, however, I apprehend, is becoming a lamentable improbability.

However disposed the Government may be to "protect and encourage" Protestant missionaries, such as they desire in this group, 'tis evident that *English Dissenters* are not those whom they delight to honour. Our anti-State Church principles are too strong, and our love of independency too great for them. They interfere; we protest. They offer support; we decline. We say, "Let us alone." This is too much for them; it produces a painful shock upon their legislative nerves. This overwhelming propensity to legislate upon everything, renders them utterly incapable of granting that liberty which we justly claim, and which we have been led to expect. They grant "liberty of worship;" but here, as in most matters of dispute, the terms are not defined; they mean one thing to them, and another to us. They have doubtless already granted what *they* consider liberty of worship. And although they have closed our schools, forbidden the construction or repairing of village chapels, and are now commencing to abolish native agency and otherwise to interfere with our work, they probably do not consider that they are interfering with liberty of worship.

The enclosed decisions of the Governor may, at first sight, appear tolerably reasonable; but we who are on the spot have no difficulty in perceiving to what they plainly tend. A native teacher or pastor cannot now be located without the sanction of the commandant. It does not appear from this that there is any difficulty in obtaining that sanction. Upon interrogating the commandant, however, I find that obtaining his sanction depends—

1st. Upon *his* estimate of the teacher's character.

2nd. Upon his opinion as to the desirability or not of locating a teacher at the place proposed.

3rd. Upon the will of the *chief*.

When it is remembered that the commandant makes no secret of his desire and intention to put down all native teachers, you will easily perceive what degree of probability there is of our obtaining his sanction to their location. Even supposing that he offers no obstacle, it is not likely that a Roman Catholic chief, who is under the thumb of the priests, will say that he *wants* one of our teachers,

or even give his consent to his location. The difficulty is considerably heightened when we find a tendency to nominate Roman Catholic natives as chiefs over Protestant villages ; as at this village, for instance, where there are four hundred and fifty Protestants and not one Roman Catholic, yet a Papist—a notorious scoundrel—is appointed chief, and *he*, forsooth, is to decide in a question that we all feel should be left to the people themselves.

These decisions, I fear, will be the cause of serious disturbance on Mare and Uvea, for which islands they may be chiefly intended. The teachers there have not been nominated with the sanction of the commandant as at Lifu. The missionaries at Mare have not yet been interrupted in their work. At Uvea, where half the population are Roman Catholic, and the whole island placed under chiefs of that persuasion, the priests have stirred up the worst passions of their followers, and the vilest persecutions of the Protestants has been the consequence. They have been driven from their chapels by an armed mob of Papists, headed by a French priest, who, upon their ejection, immediately occupied the pulpit, from which he addressed his faithful followers. Some of their religious edifices have been pulled down, and the materials cast into the sea. Teachers have been maltreated in the prosecution of their legitimate labours, and Protestant natives have been murderously attacked, and seriously wounded, opposite the priest's door : their plantations have been destroyed, and their property seized. The Rev. S. Ella and his wife have been insulted, and their property stolen and destroyed. These ignorant, misguided people have even rushed in upon Mr Ella, while administering the Sacrament, nearly upset the communion table, dragged out the teachers, and laid violent hands upon Mr Ella himself. 'Tis exceedingly painful to receive, from time to time, as we have done, the accounts of these unjust and disgraceful proceedings, and yet to see that no attempt is made by the authorities either to protect the innocent or punish the guilty. Mr Ella has written frequently detailing these persecutions, and I have had several interviews with the commandant and the governor on the subject. They profess to have written to the chiefs blaming them, and threatening them with imprisonment, although the chiefs, who receive their communications through the priests, boast that they are actuated by the commandant's orders. The chief perpetrator of these outrages has recently been over here visiting a friendly chief. The commandant, who, instead of punishing

him, ordered the Protestants of this village to make a feast for him and his people, and sent him back with the enclosed "decisions," and instructions to send all the Lifu teachers from Uvea immediately.

The authorities here, in their eagerness to destroy "English influence," blindly pursue a most suicidal course, and then charge the natural consequences of this policy to our influence and that of the teachers. An honest investigation into the proceedings of the commandant, would leave no cause for surprise at the manifest anti-French feeling which exists amongst all the natives of these islands.

To say that the Government here is adverse to the progress of the natives in civilisation, would be, I believe, to pronounce an unjust libel upon their intentions. They appear anxious to make some effort to elevate the natives, just as they endeavour to colonise; but their *modus operandi* renders them as incapable for the one as the other. Our Lord's rebuke to the Pharisees with reference to the kingdom of heaven is somewhat applicable to the Government here concerning the civilisation and general progress of these natives, "Ye neither go in yourselves, nor suffer them that are entering to go in."

ON BOARD THE *Day Spring*,
NEW CALEDONIA.

The *Day Spring* anchored here on the 15th inst. By the pilot-boat I announced, in a brief note to the governor, our arrival, requesting an audience, and desiring his Excellency to state a convenient time for that purpose. On the day of our arrival, Mr Jones and I proceeded to the colonial secretary, with whom we had a short interview, and in whose hands I placed my letter to the governor, of which the enclosed is a copy, also the list of teachers. On the 16th I received a letter from the colonial secretary, intimating that the governor would accord the desired audience to-day (17th) at twelve o'clock. We have just returned from an interview of three hours, an account of which I will briefly relate.

We were kindly received by the governor and colonial secretary. His Excellency spent the whole of the time commenting upon my letter to himself, endeavouring to show that the liberty we ask is not in accordance with the laws of France. I assured him that we had no desire to violate French law, and that we only expected the same liberty as Dissenters in France. He reminded us that French law re-

quired every minister, Catholic or Protestant, to be a Frenchman. I told him that the Emperor and his ministers had recognised the London Missionary Society's mission in the Loyalty group, although they knew that we are all Englishmen. He said that his instructions were from the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies, and that they qualified the Emperor's letter ; and that instead of according us more liberty, he should be obliged to curtail what he had already granted. Hence you will perceive that your petition to the Emperor and his Majesty's favourable reply are little regarded by the Colonial Government. The governor informed us that he understood the Emperor's reply to your memorial to mean no more than that *we may preach the gospel to those who profess Protestantism in the LOYALTY GROUP*. For this it is necessary to assemble the natives. Where are we to do this ? We are not allowed to erect religious edifices without the express permission of the Government, yet when we ask for this we get no reply. If we assemble the natives in a building of our own, we are reminded that we are subjecting ourselves to fines and imprisonment. Nearly two years ago I asked for permission to erect and repair some village chapels, but I have not yet received an answer, although I have repeatedly asked for it. The Government is to decide (in their own time) where teachers and chapels are wanted, and we have no reason to expect that *they* will grant a very liberal supply. We are strictly forbidden to labour amongst the heathen or Roman Catholics. We are not allowed to send pioneer teachers from this group to the surrounding heathen islands ; our labours are restricted to those here who are professedly Protestant, and even amongst them we experience serious impediments in our work. Such is "liberty of worship," according to the French.

I told the governor that we are simply the agents of a religious community ; that that community, having been assured by the Government at Paris that we should be allowed the free exercise of our ministry, naturally expects that such liberty will be accorded by the Colonial Government. This not being the case, obliges us to lay before his Excellency such a letter as I have drawn up and request a written reply. He has promised to send an answer to the commandant at Lifu. He expresses his regret that a multiplicity of engagements prevented him from giving us more time. Mr Jones had several things to lay before him, but he would not enter upon

them. With reference to recommencing our mission on New Caledonia, his Excellency said that he had received orders from France to prevent it. I asked him how he could reconcile that with a law that he had read to us a few minutes before, which stated that Protestants were entitled to the same rights and privileges as Roman Catholics, to which he simply replied, "*C'est mon affaire.*" Several other questions were answered in a similar way.

The interview, on the whole, was most unsatisfactory, as I apprehend [the answer to our letters will be; but we have the satisfaction of feeling that we have done our duty. We must now go on with our work, as far as we may be allowed, and trust in God. A change in Government (which is likely soon to take place) may lead to a more desirable state of things.

The following is a copy of the letter which I laid before the governor. The promised reply never came. I took upon myself the responsibility of addressing this communication to his Excellency, knowing that it would be useless writing to him as a body, he having already informed us that he would not receive any such addresses or petitions:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF NEW CALEDONIA AND
DEPENDENCIES.

CHEPENEHE, LIFU, *June 1, 1867.*

SIR,—Considering that perfect liberty of worship has been accorded to the Protestants of these islands by the Government of France;

Considering that his Majesty the Emperor has recognised, in terms of approval and confidence, the London Missionary Society's mission in this group, and has graciously guaranteed that its agents shall not be impeded in their legitimate labours;

Considering that our mode of operations in this group is the same as that adopted throughout the world where agents of the London Missionary Society exist;

Considering that the native teachers in this group are the recognised agents of the London Missionary Society, by which they are educated and supported;

And considering that, notwithstanding the noble sentiments publicly expressed by the Emperor and the ministers of his Government with reference to the free exercise of our ministry in these islands, our labours for the evangelisation of the native populations have been and continue to be seriously impeded ;

I, in the name of the Society which I have the honour to represent here, respectfully solicit for myself and my brethren in this group—

1. To be allowed the free exercise of our ministry (where no law of France is infringed) according to the *modus operandi* of the London Missionary Society.

2. Similar liberty for the native teachers who are the agents of the London Missionary Society placed under our care.

3. The right, in common with other missionaries of our Society, to place, remove, or depose teachers wherever and whenever it appears to us desirable.

4. The liberty to erect and repair religious edifices at the different stations where teachers are located.

5. The liberty to send educated natives from this group as pioneer teachers to the surrounding heathen islands.

We sincerely hope that your Excellency will, in accordance with the spirit of his Majesty the Emperor's letter, dated January 24, 1865, and addressed to the representatives of the different missionary societies of England, remove all impediments to the free and honourable exercise of our functions in these islands as agents of the London Missionary Society.

With sentiments of profound respect, I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,
S. M'FARLANE.

Having waited for more than a year for a reply to the above, I modified our requests in the two following letters, which, I fully anticipated, would secure a favourable answer ; but they were treated with the same indifference as the above :—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF NEW CALEDONIA AND
DEPENDENCIES.

CHEPENEHE, LIFU, Oct. 5, 1868.

SIR,—Seeing that the Protestant seminary at this village was established with a view to train native teachers for this and the

adjacent heathen islands, and that your Excellency graciously allowed it to be reopened in June 1866, it having been closed in May 1864 by the order of the commandant of the Loyalty Islands ;

Seeing that, according to your decisions, no native can lawfully leave this group, and that several students in the seminary are anxious to proceed as pioneer teachers to some of the numerous heathen islands in the New Hebrides group ;

Seeing that the only prospect of these islanders receiving the blessings of civilisation is from the enterprise of Christian philanthropists ; and considering that the French are in the van of civilisation, and distinguished for their efforts to promote the welfare of nations, and may consequently be expected to facilitate our endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the savages around us ;

I have the honour to solicit permission from your Excellency to be allowed to send annually from this island two or three native pioneer teachers to labour on the islands of the New Hebrides group.

With sentiments of profound respect, I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,
S. M'FARLANE.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF NEW CALEDONIA AND
DEPENDENCIES.

CHEPENEHE, LIFU, *October 5, 1868.*

SIR,—Seeing that the native teachers under my care have been appointed to their respective stations with the sanction of the commandant of the Loyalty Islands ;

Seeing that the appointment of a teacher to conduct religious worship necessitates the existence of a chapel in which to assemble for that purpose ;

Seeing that churches cannot be constructed without the authorisation of the local authorities, and that so far back as November 3, 1865, I have, in a communication to the commandant, solicited permission to erect chapels at five villages where teachers are located, and frequently repeated my request verbally since that date, and that no permission has yet been accorded ;

And seeing that the grass houses in which the natives assemble for religious worship are in a very dilapidated and disgraceful condition ;

I have the honour to request your Excellency to permit the erection forthwith of such edifices for religious worship at the above villages as the present state of civilisation of the natives will enable them to construct.

With sentiments, &c. &c.

S. M'FARLANE.

The treatment to which some of our teachers were subjected after the "decisions" of the governor may be seen from the following letter. Neither of these teachers referred to had any charge brought against them except that they were supposed to entertain a dislike for the French!

THE COMMANDANT OF THE LOYALTY ISLANDS.

CHEPENEHE, *April 26, 1869.*

SIR,—I had the honour to receive yesterday your letter dated March 25, No. 26, in which you inform me that "Monsieur le gouverneur n'approuve pas la nomination de Tepesseu à Oué, et que ce teacher devra sans delai reprendre son poste à Chépénéhé."

Seeing that Tepesseu has been an acknowledged teacher for nearly five years, and by his intelligence, energy, and devotedness during that period has come to be regarded as the best teacher on Lifu;

Seeing that he was appointed to Dropen, where the natives of Chepenehe took refuge after their village was burnt and occupied by the soldiers in '64; that since their return to this village a teacher is no longer necessary, and that, in accordance with the unanimous and earnest wish of the entire population at Oué, also with your knowledge and sanction, he was located at that village about three months ago;

Seeing that the inhabitants of Oué are unwilling to give up their teacher, and that those of Chepenehe do not require one, and that to remove him by force would tend to excite and perpetuate amongst the natives the very feelings that you desire to allay;

And seeing that the repeated interference with the peaceful labours of our teachers, as well as the prohibition to erect village chapels and send pioneer teachers to the neighbouring heathen islands, is entirely at variance with the spirit of his Majesty the Emperor's letter, with the liberty accorded to Protestants in France, and also with that granted to Roman Catholic teachers on this island, who, in proportion to the population, are more in number than the Protestant teachers, and however they may be designated by the priests, exercise the same functions;

I have the honour to inform you that I cannot recall Tepesseu and replace him at this village; and although I cannot prevent you from sending soldiers to bind and conduct him to prison

like a felon, as you did to another teacher on a former occasion whose only crime was being a teacher, yet I can and do protest, and shall be under the painful necessity of referring the whole affair to the appreciation of his Excellency the Minister of the Marine and the Colonies at Paris.

I remain, Sir, yours with profound respect,

S. M'FARLANE.

From the following extract of a letter of explanation which I addressed to the governor upon a matter of litigation which the commandant had commenced against me, it will appear that, so far from attempting to paralyse their efforts to nationalise the natives, we endeavoured to disabuse their minds of the unjust and injurious sentiments which they entertained respecting us by seeking to facilitate the accomplishment of their designs. On two occasions the commandant, in the name of the Government, entered upon a lawsuit against me ; but in both cases my letters of explanation were deemed sufficient by the governor and attorney-general, who refused to allow the cases to proceed. One was with reference to the registration of the birth of a son, which the commandant supposed I had neglected, although I had, as in a former case, announced the event in a letter which he returned unopened. The other was about cattle, two or three of which we keep solely for domestic purposes. The commandant learned from a native woman that her plantation had been injured by cattle, and sent her husband to demand from me one pound in cash ! No person had seen my cattle there ; and although those of a French resident had been observed near the said

plantation the day before the damage was discovered, and although I was the only one out of ten Europeans who kept cattle on private property and within an enclosure, yet I was the only one summoned for damages done by cattle to native plantations. I felt that as the cattle had broken down the fence on a former occasion, they might have done so on this; and as it was possible, though not probable, that the damage had been done by our cattle, I offered to pay in kind for the loss sustained, or give two dollars. (I had ascertained that the damage was not great. A European assured me that there was not a dollar's worth of food spoiled.) I was anxious to have the affair amicably settled; but as the commandant seemed as anxious that the case should be brought before the Court in Noumea, I allowed it to proceed, and wrote the governor on the subject. Having explained the circumstances of the case to his Excellency, I proceeded as follows:—

The real cause of offence is evidently the influence which I possess over the native population of this island; yet I am at a loss to conjecture how I can better atone for this crime than by exerting that influence, acquired in the exercise of my legitimate functions, for the welfare of this people. Of course gentlemen may and do differ in their opinion about the means most calculated to promote the welfare of a community; yet this difference is quite compatible with an exhibition of the most friendly feeling, since both seek a common end.

In vain do I seek in my conduct for a cause which has the least tendency to render me susceptible of being charged with opposing your Government. You desired to establish a Government school here. I used my influence to prevail upon Protestant parents to send their children, and for a considerable time sent my three servant boys in order to inspire confidence in the natives.

You desired the natives to return and rebuild this village. In order to expedite this, I have been at the trouble and expense of erecting a much larger building than we require for a class room, to be used as a church until the new one is completed, and this has had the desired effect.

You desire the natives to be acquainted with your language. I teach French in the seminary, and am introducing French numerals in all our public services. I have given French Testaments to the Protestant boys in the Government school who can read a little, in order to encourage them, and have promised to each a handsome Bible in the French language when they are able to read it.

You desire improvements in the native dwellings and public roads. I excite the natives to accomplish this, and assist them by lending them tools, &c. With what success let the present condition of the island indicate. There are over 6000 Protestants on the island. These were scattered throughout the island in innumerable hamlets. We have sought to arrange them in twenty villages, built after a plan, each to have a well in the centre and the village church at one end. Several of these are completed. The natives have dug wells and found water, and were erecting their religious edifices when the commandant arrested them in your name, the order being borne in triumph to the different villages by Roman Catholic natives, much to the discouragement of those who were completing an arrangement admired and applauded by all. The commandant says that your Excellency objects to so many teachers. Are *twenty* teachers too many for a population of more than 6000? Is it not better to have twenty respectable villages than innumerable insignificant hamlets, which will indeed necessitate the appointment of an undesirable number of teachers?

Let these efforts, sir, be placed alongside with the acts of the commandant, and the startling difference will at once be recognised between the exercise of legitimate influence and the operation of what may perhaps with some justice be termed "lawless tyranny."

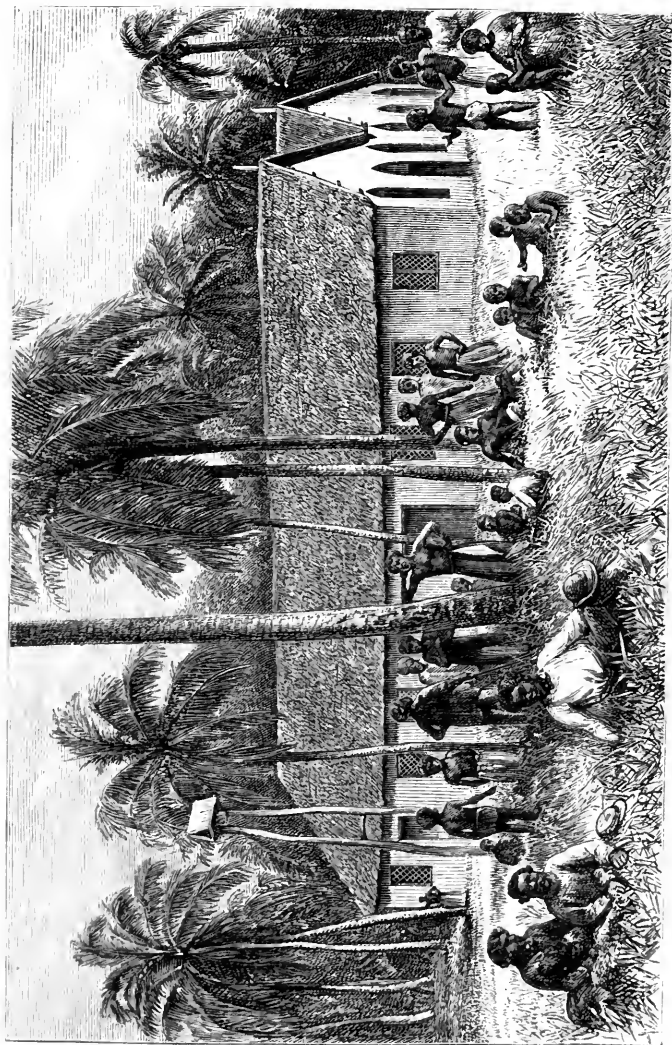
In a conversation with the commandant about a year ago, he told me distinctly that so great was the influence of the priests with the Government in Paris, that an officer must abandon the hope of promotion who undertook to oppose them, and that very few young officers would do this. Perhaps I may find in this an explanation of his recent conduct. Under these circumstances, however, I have no hope of enjoying that interchange of friendly feelings between those in authority and ourselves which your Excellency so earnestly

recommended. By the priests we are regarded as heretics and enemies; and it appears that the officers who are sent here to command cannot be liberal and friendly toward us, as that would incur the opposition of the priests. We must therefore stand alone in the consciousness of our integrity, hoping to enjoy *your* confidence.

XX.

EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE IMPERIAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—PHYSICAL FEATURES OF UVEA—INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL—DIVISION OF THE ISLAND BY THE PRIESTS AND TEACHERS—DESIRE FOR ENGLISH MISSIONARIES—APOLO'S APPOINTMENT TO UVEA—MY FIRST VISIT TO UVEA—SEIZURE OF THE "PATE"—A PROTESTANT CHURCH CLOSED BY THE PRIEST—MAL-TREATMENT OF TEACHERS—INTERVIEW WITH THE PRIEST—ARRIVAL OF THE "BONITE," AND LIBERALITY OF THE CAPTAIN—VISIT OF THE REV. J. JONES TO UVEA—APPOINTMENT OF A MISSIONARY FOR UVEA—ORDERED OFF BY THE FRENCH—CONDUCT OF THE PRIESTS UPON NEWS OF THE ARRIVAL OF SOLDIERS AT LIFU.

WE have now arrived at an epoch in the history of the Loyalty Islands Mission which was happily the beginning of a much better state of things. We had evidently been misrepresented and misapprehended, and consequently distrusted, and our converts treated with injustice and severity. In vain we appealed to the Colonial Government at New Caledonia against the injustice and partiality of the commandant at Lifu, whose one great object seemed to be to secure promotion, and who acknowledged that there was little hope of this if he opposed the priests. We could not obtain that liberty of action in our evangelistic work which the Emperor had led us to expect. We could not obtain (not *redress*, for we did not ask that, although we were entitled to it) any cessation of the unjust imprisonment



THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AT UVEA.



of Protestants by the authorities at Lifu, and of the persecution of Protestants on Uvea by the Roman Catholics. So we wrote to the directors of our society requesting them to make an appeal to the Imperial Government at Paris. Several memorials had to be addressed both to our Government and that at Paris before the latter ordered the governor of New Caledonia to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the complaints which we made. As this commission had special reference to the persecutions on Uvea, I will here give a brief account of those outrages.

Uvea, like Lifu, is of coral formation, and forms the east side of a group of about twenty low islets, connected to each other and to Uvea by reefs, except where there are openings leading to the lagoon. The principal island is a long curved strip of land, thirty miles in length, three miles wide in some places, and about 150 feet high. The next in size is separated from it by a narrow strait, and is about twelve miles in length. The rest are small islets forming a circular lagoon of about twenty miles in diameter, with regular soundings which decrease gradually towards the land. It is one of the loveliest coralline groups in the South Seas. From its large placid lagoon the natives obtain an abundant supply of fish, whilst the numerous reefs and islets supply a great quantity and variety of shells which are eagerly sought by traders and visitors. There are two distinct tribes on the island—one occupies the northern and southern districts, the other the central one. The forefathers of the former tribe are said to have been

drifted thither in canoes a few generations back from the original Uvea or Wallis Island. Their language bears a striking resemblance to the Samoan, whilst that of the latter tribe is more like those dialects spoken in the New Hebrides group. The whole population of the islands is supposed not to exceed 2500.

The gospel was introduced by natives of Mare, who were sent as pioneer teachers in 1856. The French priests arrived in 1857, and, as usual, declared those who preceded them to be false teachers, and themselves the true messengers of God. By bribes and threats they succeeded in prevailing upon a number of those who had embraced Protestantism to become Roman Catholics; and having settled amongst the enemies of the tribe that had received our teachers, the differences assumed a political as well as a religious character. In order to secure the accomplishment of their designs, the priests arranged with our teachers that they should confine themselves to one district whilst they did the same in the other. Our teachers believing, in their simplicity, that the priests had no other design than that expressed—viz., to promote peace—readily consented, and devoted themselves to the southern district alone. The majority of the two tribes embraced the doctrines of their respective teachers, and the island naturally became divided into Catholic and Protestant. When, however, the priests considered that they had acquired sufficient influence to prevent the introduction of Protestantism to the northern part of the island, they proceeded to erect chapels alongside the Protestant places of worship on

the southern side. In vain our teachers charged them with breach of faith; the work of proselytising was commenced and carried on with vigour and not without success.

The Protestants and their teachers now became more anxious than ever to get an English missionary to reside amongst them, and the deputations that visited the island urged the directors to appoint a missionary for Uvea as early as possible. This, however, could not be done, owing to the pressing claims of other parts of the mission-field. We therefore, the missionaries of Lifu and Mare, arranged to visit Uvea in turn, and remain a few weeks with the people. I being the nearest to the island, was requested by the brethren to consider Uvea a part of my district until the arrival of a missionary from England; and the teachers were instructed to proceed, in a canoe, to Lifu for advice in cases of difficulty. Being unable to obtain a missionary, the principal chief, Whenege, and a number of his people came over to Lifu to ask for Apolo, a Samoan teacher, the best in my district; and feeling that he would be of greater service at Uvea than Lifu, I complied with their request, and prevailed upon the natives of the village where he laboured to give him up to the Uveans, who had no missionary.

It was in September 1860 that I paid my first visit to Uvea. I went across in my boat to locate Apolo as teacher at Fazaue, the village where Whenege resided. Whenege is the principal chief on the southern part of the island. I found that the priest had not only built chapels in the Protestant villages, but had taken up his

residence at Fazaue, near Whenege's house, and that he was threatening the Protestants with a French man-of-war. He had succeeded in getting around him a few followers, men of the baser sort, whom he supplied liberally with grog and tobacco. On the Sabbath preceding my arrival he had taken the "pate" (a small hand-gong used as a bell, and beaten from one end of the village to the other to assemble the people for worship) from the lad who was beating it as he passed his door, telling him that he hated the sound, and threatening him if he repeated the offence. The day after my arrival being Sabbath, I sent the boy to sound the gong as usual. The priest, as on the previous Sabbath, rushed out of his house as the lad was passing, and seized the pate. I of course went immediately and asked for an explanation. He told me that it annoyed him; that he hated the sound, knowing our religion to be false. I reminded him that he had the remedy in his own hands—he could remove to another place; that he was at perfect liberty to ring his bell, and must allow our people to do the same. He then said that the boy crossed his premises beating the gong, which I acknowledged he had no right to do, and asked where his boundary line was, and if the boy did not keep to the public road. I found that the native had not deviated from the path, but that the priest considered his boundary to extend across the public road down to the sea! At another village I found the Protestant church closed, and the priest's *tabu* set on it in the shape of a stick with a piece of dirty calico fastened to it, which I pulled down, and told those who

built and owned the church not to be afraid of his *tabus*, but to assemble as formerly in the building for public worship.

At another Protestant village I found a number of refugees from the northern district. The chief of Oinyat (Owa) and a number of his people had embraced Protestantism, and sent to the southern district for our teachers to visit and instruct them. A Raratongan and a Mare teacher went, but they were waylaid by the Roman Catholics and beaten, and their books and clothes destroyed. The Papists then mustered, about six hundred in number, attacked the village of Oinyat, pulled down the chapel and cast the materials into the sea, and burnt the village. The poor old chief and a child who lay sick in one of the houses unable to escape were burnt to death. All who had declared themselves Protestants were driven from the district and their plantations confiscated, and were obliged to remain refugees in the southern district, where I found them, till 1867. They assured me that the priest had supplied ammunition for the destruction of the village, and named five individuals who were known to have each received from him a canister of powder.

I determined to visit the priest in the northern district, and learn if possible from his own lips his views on religious liberty. We met in the lagoon, and I invited him into my boat and returned. We were three or four hours on the passage, and so had plenty of time to discuss matters in general and the persecution of Protestants in his district in particular. He made no

attempt to conceal his hatred towards Protestantism ; spoke of us as incorrigible heretics, and said that his conscience would not permit him to allow any Protestant teachers to enter his district, or even to remain on the island, if he could prevent it. He appeared to me to be just such a character as those of whom we read in Spanish inquisitions, one who would probably be selected to manage an infernal machine. He had the impudence to ask me in my own boat what right we had to go about as missionaries teaching false doctrine, and reminded me of what he considered would be the consequences. I confess that I felt more amused and instructed than annoyed at the man's impertinence. He was evidently in earnest ; and when you see a person in earnest, even although in error, you feel a sort of respect for him, and more inclined to pity than to blame. He informed me that he daily expected a French man-of-war, and that he intended to lodge a complaint with the captain against our teachers, and urge him to make two of them prisoners ; he charged them with disturbing the public peace by going into the northern district. Just as we were about to part on the beach a vessel hove in sight. " Here," I said, " is probably your expected man-of-war ; we will refer the matter to the captain." It proved to be the French transport *Bonite*, which had called at Lifu. The captain was, happily, a very liberal gentleman ; he was, indeed, a man of science as well as war. He patiently heard our complaints, and, much to the annoyance of the priests, decided in favour of religious liberty, refusing to punish our native teachers, and

blaming the priests for creating amongst the natives a dislike, if not hatred, of the French, by causing them to expect and dread a French man-of-war. He assured me that the priests had no authority for using these threats, and that they had already incurred the displeasure of the governor of New Caledonia by so doing. The captain having assembled the chiefs, and given them some good advice, he left, expressing the hope that perfect liberty of worship would not be interfered with. The priests, as may be supposed, were far from satisfied with the visit of their countryman, and in a very short time succeeded in effacing from the minds of their followers the impressions which the captain had made in favour of religious liberty, telling them that they would write to the governor at New Caledonia, who would send a captain that understood his business better ! Having visited the Protestant and heathen villages, and a westerly wind springing up, I returned to Lifu, having spent three weeks on the island. Whenege and the natives appeared delighted to have Apolo settled amongst them ; and although he was my right-hand man, I also was pleased with the arrangement, feeling that he would be of more use at Uvea than at Lifu.

In 1863 the Rev. J. Jones of Mare visited Uvea, and remained several weeks on the island. He found the work steadily advancing, and with it the opposition of the priests, with whom, like myself, he had a most unsatisfactory interview. The natives were increasingly anxious to get a missionary ; and in answer to our earnest appeal the directors appointed the Rev. Mr Irving,

who died in Sydney on his way to the field. The time, however, had come for the Uveans to obtain the desire of their heart, a missionary, although Mr Irving was not the man intended by Providence. The Rev. S. Ella having been obliged to leave Samoa on account of Mrs Ella's health, and being anxious to continue in the mission-field, and thinking that the climate in the Loyalty group would probably suit Mrs Ella's health, promptly consented (when urged by one of his brethren, the Rev. W. Gill of Mangaia) to take Mr Irving's place. He was one of those on board the *Day Spring* when she called at Lifu a fortnight after the village of Chepenehe had been burnt down by the French. As I have already stated, no person except the captain was allowed to land, and Mr Ella was informed that he must abandon the idea of settling on Uvea as a missionary. Before the *Day Spring* left he wrote to the commandant, as an Englishman, soliciting a permit of residence. After remaining three months in the New Hebrides group, he returned in December 1864, and settled on Uvea as *English resident*, awaiting the decision of the Imperial Government with reference to the restrictions under which we were placed by the governor of New Caledonia. It is from him chiefly that I have received the following account of the persecutions on Uvea.

As soon as the news reached Uvea of the arrival of the soldiers at Lifu, and of the seizure and desecration of the church at Chepenehe, the priest, in imitation of that act, immediately assembled his followers and proceeded to take possession of the Protestant churches. At

Fazaue a Protestant teacher (a Raratongan) and his people were returning from church when they were assailed by an armed mob headed by the priest. The teacher was seized by a native, who raised his hatchet over his head, saying that he would kill him if he continued his work. They marched to Banut, where they found the congregation still assembled in the church. The priest and a few of his party entered. He ordered the teacher (a Samoan) to leave the pulpit, informing him that he had come to conduct the Roman Catholic worship there; that the Protestant ("heretic") religion was forbidden, and that the people must all become "Catholics." They then proceeded to Whakaio and Lekin, and took possession of the churches at those villages. They also seized a small church at Nimaha, near Banut. Some time before these events occurred, Drumai, the chief of a Protestant village, became a Roman Catholic, and told Bumele, the chief of the adjoining village, to take the Protestant church to his own land. It was accordingly pulled to pieces, the walls demolished, and then reconstructed at Bumele's village. This did not satisfy the priest; he won over Bumele's son, and told him that he had better seize the church and use it as a Roman Catholic chapel, lest the soldiers should come and take it as they had done at Lifu! So Bumele and his people were turned out of their place of worship again, which was used by the three or four people who had joined the priest at that village as a Roman Catholic chapel. At one of the villages where the Protestants refused to give up their church, the Roman Catholics assembled on a

Sabbath near the church during the hour of service, and fired upon the congregation to drive them out. After they had cleared the church they seized the teacher, and threatened to kill him if he continued to hold services there. The teachers, in imitation of what had been done at Lifu, were all ordered to assemble on the mission premises at Fazaue, and were strictly forbidden to instruct the people, or hold any services with them whatever. The Protestants were told that if they wished to assemble for worship, they must choose between Roman Catholic chapels and the bush ; all Protestant assemblies must be in the bush—a five-mile act ! This was the state of things when Mr Ella arrived in December 1864, and in this condition they remained until April of the following year, when he was allowed to officiate as the Protestant missionary of Uvea.

XXI.

MR ELLA OBTAINS PERMISSION TO OFFICIATE AS MISSIONARY—OUR INTERVIEW WITH THE PEOPLE—ATTEMPT TO RECOVER THE CHURCHES—THE PROTESTANTS ATTACKED WHILE AT WORSHIP—MR ELLA APPEALS TO THE COMMANDANT—NO REDRESS—GOVERNOR'S VISIT TO UVEA—PLACES THE ISLAND UNDER CATHOLIC CHIEFS—CONFIRMS THE SEIZURE OF THE CHURCHES—OWA'S CASE—OWA GOES TO OCCUPY HIS LAND—IS MURDEROUSLY ATTACKED—OWA IS CALLED TO A CONFERENCE WITH THE PRIESTS—PERSECUTION OF NATIVE TEACHERS—LIFU TEACHERS LOCATED AND ATTACKED—THE BRUTAL TREATMENT OF KERISIANO—CASES OF INDIVIDUAL PERSECUTION—MR ELLA ATTACKED—THE COMMUNION SERVICE INTERRUPTED—MR ELLA'S FRUITLESS APPEALS TO THE AUTHORITIES—WABALU'S VISIT TO LIFU, AND RECEPTION BY THE COMMANDANT—THE LESSON WHICH THE COMMANDANT'S CONDUCT WAS CALCULATED TO TEACH.

It was during my visit to Government House in '65, to which I have referred, that his Excellency placed in my hands written permission for Mr Ella to commence his missionary labours on Uvea. Upon my return to Lifu, I proceeded at once in my boat to Uvea, to convey to my missionary brother the joyful news. We assembled the people and communicated to them the welcome information, which was received by the Protestants with great delight. Mr Ella was now in a position to speak and make himself heard on behalf of his persecuted people. He sought, forthwith, to recover the Protestant churches seized by the Roman Catholics. It was evident to the natives that Protestantism was allowed by the Govern-

ment, by the fact of Mr Ella's being permitted to labour there as Protestant missionary, and as a natural consequence they inferred that the churches should be restored to those who built them. We had an interview with Wabalu, the chief of Fazaue, and other Roman Catholics ; he told us that he could not say anything in the matter, the priest being absent. At Whakaio and Lekin the Roman Catholics told Mr Ella that taking the churches was not their act, and readily consented to the Protestants reoccupying them. The chief at Nimaha voluntarily surrendered the chapel which he had taken. When these facts were made known to the priest, he became enraged, and sent messengers to the above villages exhorting his followers to retain the buildings, and on no account let them pass again into the hands of the "heretics." Mr Ella advised his people to avoid any rupture, but to use all quiet means to occupy their chapels, and if they were prevented he would apply to the governor at New Caledonia. At Whakaio the people took possession of their church, and were at worship when a mob of Roman Catholics entered, stopped the service, and commenced dragging the natives out. The old chief was greatly abused, told that he was worshipping the devil ; then called a devil, a heretic, a pig, and other equally polite names. At Lekin the Roman Catholics held possession of the church, telling the Protestants to worship at one end of it whilst they occupied the other !

Mr Ella referred the matter to the commandant at Lifu, which was the commencement of a long and fruitless correspondence between him and the authorities on

the subject of the persecutions of Protestants on Uvea. Those outrages might have been prevented, and liberty of worship and public tranquillity secured at Uvea as at Lifu, had the commandant felt disposed to act justly towards the Protestants, or had he, at least, determined so to act; for whatever his feelings were on the subject, his worldly prospects (judging from his own statements) led him to play into the hands of the priests. Instead of replying to Mr Ella's communication by declaring that there was to be perfect liberty of worship, and that the religious edifices were to be used for the purposes for which they were constructed, and that Roman Catholics and Protestants were to live in peace as French subjects, equally esteemed and equally amenable to French law,—instead of writing in this strain, which would have been in accordance with the spirit of the Emperor's letter, he evaded the question by referring to the governor, and thus encouraged the priests and their followers to continue their persecutions.

The governor visited the Loyalty group in June; and whilst at Uvea, Mr Ella requested him to order the Protestant churches to be returned to the Protestants. His Excellency had a long interview with the priests, and ordered the natives to be assembled from every part of the island. On the following day there was a general meeting in the open air, at which were present the governor and his staff, all the chiefs and most of the people, one of the French priests and Mr Ella. The hopes of the Protestants were raised. Although they were not anxious to obtain *redress* for the injuries they had sus-

tained, yet they hoped that at that meeting the governor would take the opportunity not only of publicly restoring to them their churches, but of expressing in unmistakable language his disapproval of the course which the Roman Catholics had pursued, and sternly forbidding a continuation of the persecutions and annoyances; also of clearly making known to the assembled crowd that the Protestants were allowed by French law the same privileges as Roman Catholics. He would, of course, have incurred the displeasure and opposition of the priests by an enunciation of such sentiments; but surely an officer in his position ought not to deviate from a just, straightforward, and honourable course from such considerations. From whatever motives he acted, he completely disappointed the expectations of Mr Ella and the Protestants. He divided the island into three portions, over which he appointed three Roman Catholic chiefs. All the chiefs were formerly independent; and although some were more powerful than others, yet all maintained and gloried in their independence. To set up one over another, and especially one of a different faith, was consequently a proceeding that was likely to have a serious issue, unless there was a power on the island to enforce it. The governor's idea, doubtless, was to simplify the government of the island, by creating three responsible persons to whom he could look in cases of difficulty. Still it would appear reasonable that one of these, at least, should be a Protestant. The Protestants manifested great dissatisfaction at this announcement, but were silenced.

Mr Ella then requested the governor to give his decision about the churches seized by the Roman Catholics. The chiefs of the villages where the churches had been taken, being Roman Catholics, claimed the buildings because they were erected on their land ! The governor, after several attempts to avoid any decision, at last said, " You can take back the chapel here [Fazaue] for four months, in which time you will be able to build another, when you will leave this as Government property, which no one can pretend to claim. The other little places will remain in the hands of the Catholics for their use, but are Government property." Mr Ella protested against this unjust decision, but was reminded by his Excellency that all public buildings were Government property, and as such he could dispose of them as he pleased. With reference to former seizures and spoliation, Mr Ella was told that he had no right to interfere, as the acts were committed before he arrived.

The chief Owa then asked the governor to authorise his return, with his subjects, to his village at Oinyat, from which they had been driven by the Roman Catholics, who would not allow them to return unless they adopted their faith. His Excellency was informed of the attack upon the teachers, the burning of the village, and the fate of the old chief who perished in its ruins. The Roman Catholics did not deny the facts, they simply stated, as a reason for their conduct, that they had determined to keep " heretics " out of their district. The governor decided that the refugees should return to their lands. Baihit, the Roman Catholic chief, at

once openly declared that he would not allow them, when the governor commanded him to listen to and obey his commands. No further reference was made to the past. His Excellency abruptly broke up the conference and proceeded to his ship, leaving the Protestants disappointed and heavy-hearted, whilst the Roman Catholics were exulting at the issue. Nothing had been done with reference to the past, and more power had been given to them, which would enable them the better to carry out their plans in future. As might have been expected, the persecutions of the Protestants became more frequent and severe than before.

On the following month Owa and his people went to occupy their lands, some Whadila men accompanying them to assist in building their houses and making plantations. When they arrived opposite the priest's house, a mob of armed Roman Catholics rushed out (of the house and premises) upon them, and seriously wounded five of the party. The Protestants were all unarmed, and fled back to the village where they had been refugees for more than two years. The transport *Caledonienne* called at Uvea a few months afterwards, and the captain, taking the two priests as interpreters, pretended to inquire into the matter. He acquitted Baihit and his murderous party, and threatened to take prisoner the chief of Whadila (a Protestant) for accompanying the people of Oinyat, as the governor's *permit* applied only to Owa and his subjects! Such proceedings only tended, of course, to encourage the Roman Catholics. The priests were not slow to turn this connivance of the

authorities to account, and the result was open, systematic persecution. I shall presently give a few specimens of the kind of treatment to which the Protestants were subjected, in the meantime let us follow the case of the refugees. Several months after the *Caledonienne* had been to Uvea, the commandant at Lifu resolved to visit the island. He also made inquiries into Owa's case in the presence of the priests and people, and pronounced Baihit and the priests guilty, declaring that the former should cease to be chief. Months passed over, and nothing further was done, Baihit remaining chief and continuing his persecutions as before. Mr Ella plied the commandant with letters on the subject; and a year afterwards the latter wrote to Owa telling him that he had better make another attempt to occupy his land, but that he should go alone this time, and not with a Protestant suite! He did so, but was met by an armed party of Roman Catholics and driven back again. Six months more passed and nothing was done. Baihit visited Lifu in company with the priests; was well received by the commandant, although he had said when at Uvea that Baihit was no longer to be chief. After this interview the commandant wrote to Owa, saying that Baihit declared that he had never opposed his return!!! and therefore he was at liberty to reoccupy his lands whenever he pleased. He could not, however, have a Protestant teacher for his people unless Baihit permitted it! Owa was called to a conference with the two priests, who told him that he might return to his lands, but that he and his people must not expect

any peace unless they became Roman Catholics. They were on this occasion allowed to return to their village (or rather the site of their former village) without molestation ; but the very day after their arrival, Baihit called upon the Protestant women to come and carry stones and sand to make a road in his village. The men complained of this, as Owa had never been a chief under Baihit, and as they had their own houses and plantations to attend to. For these complaints some of the men were tied up. Baihit forbade any one taking them food, and would not allow them to hold any religious services. They were thus annoyed for some days, and then left to go to Lifu to see the commandant. When Owa appeared before the commandant, the latter abused him for not obeying Baihit—*i.e.*, not becoming a “ Catholic ”—and sent him back again without any orders. Owa and his people settled down again at Whadila as refugees, feeling that there was nothing left for them but patient endurance and hope for Divine assistance. The priest had a chapel erected upon Owa’s land, also a small house for himself, and thus matters continued until the arrival of the Imperial commission of inquiry.

The native teachers came in for their full share in the persecutions on Uvea. These worthy men, the real pioneers of Christianity and civilisation in the South Seas—were marked objects of priestly rage and malignancy. These holy fathers (or, as they have not been inaptly termed, on account of their extensive trade in cocoanut oil, “ oily fathers ”) not only abused them whenever they had an opportunity, but also stirred up their blind

followers to molest and ill-treat them as much as possible. The two teachers who were going to Oinyat to hold services were assailed by a mob of Roman Catholics, who tore up their books and their clothes, and having beaten them, sent them back almost naked. When the governor silenced the teachers on Mare and Lifu, the *priests* did the same at Uvea. Subsequently Mr Ella obtained permission to reinstate the teachers from Mare, and send for others to Lifu, seeing they were French subjects. The eastern teachers were obliged to return to their homes. As soon as the Lifu teachers were located at their stations on Uvea, they were assailed by the Roman Catholics. At one village where the chief was a Roman Catholic, though nearly the whole of his people were Protestants, they attempted to drag the teacher from the place. Shortly after, he was still more violently assaulted. On the occasion of the opening of a Roman Catholic church at Fazaue, he was charged with having advised his people not to take any part in the ceremony, nor yet to contribute to the feast: for this offence he was dragged from his house at midnight by his hair; beaten along the road to Fazaue; bound and imprisoned in the old Protestant church till morning, when a cross was prepared, to which he was tied, and exposed to the ridicule of the Roman Catholics assembled from all parts of the island to the feast of the "Consecration," the priest setting them the example by entering the old chapel smoking his pipe, and laughing at and ridiculing the crucified teacher.

The teacher at Lekin was repeatedly insulted and

threatened by the Roman Catholics on account of his steady perseverance in his work, the chief declaring that he would "cut his throat" if he remained there. Being engaged in rebuilding the village chapel destroyed by the Roman Catholics, and in order, we suppose, to stop the work, Kerisiano, the teacher, was seized at midnight, dragged from his bed, bound hands and feet, and carried like a pig to a canoe waiting for him, and taken over to Lifu—not directly to the commandant, but to the priest who resides near my station. After I had an interview with the teacher at Chepenehe, and learnt the brutal manner in which he had been brought over to Lifu unknown to Mr Ella, I informed the commandant of the circumstances of the case, but nothing was done. Mr Ella addressed a number of communications, both to the commandant and to the governor, on the subject of these outrages; the only reply he received was an order of the governor suspending all the teachers, and requiring them to return immediately to Mare and Lifu. Natives of one island were not allowed to act as teachers on another. This order was placed in the hands of their persecutors the Roman Catholic chiefs, who were merely the agents of the priests, and the teachers were sent away with abuse and indignity, without the least notice having been taken of the outrages committed upon them.

There were many cases of individual persecution, from which I select a few. Bumele, chief of Whakaio, was one of the first who received the gospel on Uvea, and one of the greatest sufferers from the persecutions. Even his own son was estranged from him, and led to

persecute him. Not only was his chapel taken from him and his people, but, on pretext of having cooked a sacred fish, his village was burnt down by the Roman Catholics. On one occasion he was bound in a brutal manner, so that he could neither lie down nor stand for twenty-four hours. He was an old man, and had a diseased arm, on which account his sufferings were more severe during this day's torture. His tormentors stood near him during the greater part of the day, and when he besought them to give him a little water, he was answered by laughter and jeers. When released at the end of the twenty-four hours, he was seriously ill. Even when he died, the malevolence of his persecutors followed him to the grave, into which one of them fired, saying that he would "send his soul to hell"!

The most usual form of persecution was that of binding with ropes and confining to a hovel. Several were thus bound for joining the Protestants, and others dragged to the chief's premises, where they were compelled to labour until they recanted and returned to the holy communion of the Catholic and Apostolic Church! A boy who attended the Sabbath school was beaten for this offence by his chief till he fainted. Persisting in going, he was again seized, bound with cords, and taken to a deep hole into which dead bodies were formerly thrown, and threatened to be cast in unless he promised never to attend the heretic school and chapel again. A girl about eight years of age was similarly treated for the same reason; and the widow of a Roman Catholic having returned to her family (who were Protestants) after the

death of her husband, was removed, and condemned to labour in the plantations of the Catholic chief.

Mr Ella himself did not escape in the general persecution. We may easily imagine how acutely both he and his devoted wife felt the pain of witnessing the sufferings of their poor people without being able to render assistance. It was a great relief to Mrs Ella when she was permitted to send a little food to the prisoners, but this privilege was not always granted at Uvea any more than at Lifu. Not only was Mr Ella insulted and his property stolen, but he was personally and openly attacked whilst engaged in his missionary duties. On one occasion, during the administration of the Lord's Supper, the Roman Catholics rushed into the church, and proceeded to drag the people out. Violent hands were laid upon Mr Ella himself, and the communion-table nearly upset. This disgraceful affray was accompanied by great excitement, from which Mrs Ella suffered for some time afterwards. The cause assigned was that the Protestants were holding a Sabbath school, and that all schools had been closed by the order of the governor. On another occasion Mr Ella and his boat's crew were attacked near the priest's house whilst on their way to Oinyat. The cause assigned was that no heretics were permitted to visit that part of the island. It would be easily to prolong the list of persecutions and annoyances, but these will suffice to indicate the sort of treatment to which the Protestants were subjected. Mr Ella determined to keep the local Government fully informed of all that happened, that they might not be able to plead

ignorance should it become necessary to appeal to the Imperial Government ; his full and frequent communications, however, were often not even acknowledged. It was very painful for us to receive from time to time accounts of the proceedings at Uvea, and to see that no effort was made either to protect the innocent or punish the guilty. I often had interviews with the commandant upon the reception of letters from Uvea, and spoke strongly of the disgrace and injustice of allowing such a state of things to continue. On such occasions he would readily admit that the Protestants were treated with great injustice and severity, but professed to be unable to control the chiefs at Uvea, who, he said, were the dupes of the priests. He stated that he had written forbidding such acts, and threatening the chiefs if they were continued, although the chiefs declared that the contrary was the truth ; and I am inclined to think they are right, for the commandant's *acts* tended to verify *their* words more than his own. It was not long after this interview—(during which he had expressed great indignation at Wabalu's treatment of the Protestants at Fazaue, regretting that he had no means of getting these refractory chiefs into his power, and blaming the governor for not sending him a vessel that he might proceed to Uvea and bring them over to prison by force)—that Wabalu came over to Lifu in a canoe to visit a friendly chief. Now, I thought, if the commandant is sincere in his professed anxiety to bring about a better state of things at Uvea, he has an opportunity of making known his will by his conduct to

this man. Judge of my surprise when the Protestants were ordered to make a feast for this persecutor of their friends at Uvea. He was well received by the commandant, dined with him, and was retained by him three days at Chepenehe, waiting for the feast that was prepared especially for him and his followers. We thought that it was likely he would escape imprisonment, notwithstanding what the commandant had said to me about him, but we were not prepared for such a demonstration of favour as this. The natives learned the lesson which it was evidently intended to teach, and returned to Uvea to the work of persecution with renewed energy. Feeling that there was no hope of redress from the local authorities—who had already attempted to get rid of English missionaries, and were evidently conniving at these outrages upon the Protestants, thinking probably by this means of systematic annoyance to lead us to abandon our work—Mr Ella appealed to the London Missionary Society, urging them to endeavour to move the Imperial Government at Paris on behalf of the Christians of Uvea. After several memorials, direct and through our Government, to his Majesty the Emperor, an order was sent to New Caledonia appointing a Commission of Inquiry to investigate our grievances.

XXII.

ARRIVAL OF THE COMMISSION—BULA'S CASE—MAL-ADMINISTRATION—PROHIBITION TO ERECT CHAPELS—LETTER TO THE COMMISSION—PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES—BULA AND THE COMMISSION—INJUSTICE OF THE COMMANDANT BEING ON THE COMMISSION—THE COMMISSION AT UVEA—RESULTS.

ON the 24th September 1869, a French steamer arrived at Chepenehe with the commission on board. At ten o'clock the same night I received a letter from the president of the commission, informing me of their appointment and object, and requesting me to meet them on the following day at the office of the commandant. Having carefully thought over and arranged the subjects to be brought before the commission, I proceeded at the hour specified to the place of rendezvous. The commission was composed of the judge and a lawyer from Noumea, the commandant of the Loyalty islands and an interpreter. The president proceeded to inform me that the chief Bula had not been imprisoned on account of his faith, as I had represented, but for disobedience and bad conduct! He produced a list of Bula's crimes which he had received from the commandant, which he read and commented upon. From this list it appeared that Bula had been imprisoned for remaining at the Institution (of which he was a student when the French took possession of the Loyalty group, with a view of

becoming an evangelist to some heathen island, according to his earnest desire) instead of returning to his people. His having been imprisoned a fortnight here, and sent to New Caledonia in irons, where he was kept a prisoner at large for about a year, was on account of his having, it is said, tried to prevent one of his subjects from marrying a Roman Catholic, of which the priest had made a complaint. Other imprisonments were said to have been on account of there not being a sufficient number of his men at work at the camp at different times. Leaving the president to judge between the alleged crimes and the punishment inflicted, I simply asked if he supposed that Bula had been allowed to defend himself against these charges. He replied that he had no reason to doubt it; that the French did not punish without a cause or without trial. I answered that it was not a question of what French law is, nor of how it is administered in French courts, but of the administration in this group, where there is no court: and that to proceed upon the supposition that the commandant had acted justly was begging the question. I assured him that Bula and many other natives have been and continue to be imprisoned not only without trial, but without knowing the cause, except that assigned by Roman Catholics—viz., that they are Protestants. They have been sent for and conducted to prison without even seeing the commandant. The judge, however, said (in the presence of the commandant) that he could not conceive it possible for a French officer to act so unjustly!

When I proceeded to bring other questions before the commission, the judge informed me that they were not included in their instructions, and referred me to the commandant. I told him that since 1865 I had repeatedly made written and verbal applications for permission to build five village churches of coral in place of the present grass houses at villages where there were recognised teachers located, and also to be allowed to send pioneer teachers from the Loyalty group to heathen islands, but had not yet received a reply. He simply told me to repeat my request, and closed the proceedings. Returning home and thinking over the interview, I could not but feel that it was far from satisfactory; and considering that the inquiry had been instituted by the order of the Imperial Government from the pressure brought to bear upon it by our own, and believing that the commission appeared more anxious to justify the acts of the commandant (he himself being one of the number), and pacify our Government and the friends of our society, than to investigate and remove the real causes of complaint, I resolved to place before them a written declaration from which they could not escape. After mature consideration it assumed the following form :—

TO HIS WORSHIP THE CHIEF JUSTICE, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION
NOW ASSEMBLED AT THIS VILLAGE.

CHEPENEHE, *September 27, 1869.*

SIR,—With reference to our interview on Saturday, and the object of your visit to this group, I have the honour to submit the following considerations :—

1. As we do not complain of French laws relative to liberty of worship, nor of the merited punishment of Protestants, nor yet

simply of the persecution of Protestants by Roman Catholics, but of a palpable mal-administration in this group, it is begging the question to proceed upon the assumption that the commandant has acted justly, because had he thus acted, the principal cause of our appeal would not have existed.

2. We maintain that the administration of this group has been unjust, oppressive, and partial; also that the commandant, in his reports to the governor, has made flagrant mis-statements. It has been unjust, by inflicting severe punishment for trivial offences, and by imprisonments without trial or even assigning a cause. It has been oppressive, by forcing the chiefs to keep a gang of natives constantly at work at the camp without giving them either food or remuneration, by imposing heavy fines, and by incarceration and flogging, by which some have been killed, and which have led several hundreds to escape from the island.* Its partiality has been manifested and felt in a variety of ways too palpable to be mistaken; and the mis-statements of the commandant are evident by comparing his reports with easily-ascertained facts.

3. We regard as the cause of the disturbances in this group—1st, The priests, who, anxious to make converts, urge their followers to acts of violence and persecution. 2nd, The authorities, who, anxious to destroy what they term *English influence*, and supposing that the

* If your worship will examine the natives who are now in prison (all of whom are Protestants), you will be able to judge for yourself. You will there find three boys with lacerated backs, who, because they ate a piece of the commandant's bread whilst carrying it along the road, were severely flogged with a horse-whip, and imprisoned with hard labour. We hear that they have to be confined for three months. The commandant, supposing that some of his wine had been drunk at the same time, and that the bottle had been filled up with water, caused all the natives to be assembled who had carried it at different stages for a distance of forty miles, and as he could not discover the supposed culprit, flogged them all round. You will easily find ocular evidence of this.

You will find there also a gang of natives from an inland village, who, because they complained of the severity of the native acting as chief, and unanimously desired the commandant to appoint their real chief in his stead, are imprisoned with hard labour. The native teacher at the same village is also subjected to the same punishment because, it is said, he did not use his influence to reconcile them to the chief appointed by the commandant. They have now been incarcerated for thirteen days. Native prisoners here do not receive any food from the commandant, and their friends, who have to provide for them, often live at a distance of forty or fifty miles.

natives would be more loyal in politics if Roman Catholic in religion, connive at the outrages in question. 'Tis well known that both on Uvea and Mare the priests have given their followers arms and ammunition to be used against the Protestants, and it is equally well known that the authorities have neither protected the innocent nor punished the guilty.

4. In laying these considerations before your worship, I hope that you will do me the justice to consider that I am not actuated by any feelings of disrespect towards the authorities, but simply by an earnest desire to obtain for these natives that justice which it is your prerogative to dispense, and which is necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the native population of this group.

I remain, Sir, with sentiments of profound respect, your obedient
Servant,

S. M'FARLANE.

These were grave charges against the authorities, and I was not ignorant of the danger to which I exposed myself by addressing such a communication to the commission, being a resident in the colony. Yet I felt happy in the consciousness of my integrity and the justness of my cause, and was prepared to substantiate every sentence, and add much more of the same kind if necessary; and my interest in the welfare of the natives and sympathy with them in their trials led me to determine to secure what appeared to be a good, and perhaps the only, opportunity of bringing these matters before the proper authorities, trusting that steps would be taken to prevent the recurrence of such things, and lead to a more just and liberal administration in the Loyalty group. The president acknowledged the reception of my letter, but stated that as it contained charges against the commandant, who was a member of the commission, he could take no action in the matter. He assured me that upon his arrival at Noumea he would lay it before the governor, and that is all I heard of it.

It is highly probable that it led to an investigation into the administration of the commandant, and it is equally probable that they were convinced of the truth of my statements, otherwise I should not have been allowed with impunity to bring such grave charges against the government in any official capacity.

Bula and the ex-teachers from Uvea were sent for to appear before the commissioners, who in the meantime went to Uvea. Bula and the chief "Jack" had only left Chepenehe a few days before, and had just arrived at Mu, fifty miles off. They had obtained permission from the commandant to visit their friends at the Isle of Pines, and were preparing to start when the letter arrived. It was written by a native lad in the Government school, and done in so unintelligible a manner that Bula supposed it to be simply a demand for ten men to work on board the steamer. The commandant intended it to be both an order for ten natives, and also for his and Jack's return to Chepenehe. I saw the letter myself afterwards, and it was by no means clear that Bula and Jack were required to accompany the men to Chepenehe. The men were sent off immediately, and upon their arrival five soldiers were despatched to conduct the two chiefs to Chepenehe. Bula was put in his usual place—the inner prison (Jack was not punished, as he could not read)—where he remained until the commission returned from Uvea ten days afterwards. Bula, being naturally timid, was not likely after this lesson to speak out boldly of the commandant's injustice and severity *before his face*—he knew too well what the con-

sequence would be after the departure of the commission. I have not heard what statements he made, but I know enough of native character to feel assured that, although he would probably speak the truth, yet he would not speak the *whole* truth under such circumstances. Indeed, if the Government had been anxious to obtain a full and fair account of our grievances, why did they appoint the commandant a member of the commission, seeing that many natives were to be examined (over whom he was despotic) about matters in which he was implicated? The judge and his brother lawyer are, we are assured upon good authority, distinguished for their liberal sentiments and just decisions; and from my subsequent intimate acquaintance with the latter, I am persuaded that they were honourable and searching in their investigations, although sadly embarrassed by the presence of the commandant—so much so, that on a subsequent occasion, when the same commission was appointed for Mare, the commandant's name was struck out, much to his annoyance.

At Uvea the commission found plenty of work. They were three days in receiving the depositions of Mr Ella. They then noted those of the priests, and concluded by a prolonged examination of natives. The whole *procès-verbal* was sent to Paris, and the decision was never made public, although it was pretty evident what that decision was from the revolution that followed about six months afterwards. Both of the priests were removed from Uvea to New Caledonia, and two others sent in their place. The commandant at Lifu was

recalled, and his place filled by a liberal, impartial gentleman—a civilian; and the governor was required to appear in Paris, whence he did not return. Shortly after his arrival there, another governor was appointed to New Caledonia.

Before referring to the improved condition of the Loyalty Islands Mission under the administration of the new governor, M. de la Richerie, I must go back a little, to record events that transpired at Mare between the visit of the commission to Lifu and Uvea and the arrival of the decision from Paris. Mare, although the first to receive the gospel, was the last in the group to suffer from French interference with our work, hence its position in my narrative.

XXIII.

PHYSICAL FEATURES—CANNIBALISM—MASSACRES—SANDAL-WOOD DISCOVERED—FORCE OF CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES—A CANOE DRIFTED TO MARE FROM THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS—MR MURRAY'S VISIT TO MARE—REPORT OF THE LANDING OF TEACHERS—GREAT REFORMATIONS FROM LITTLE EVENTS—THE EPIDEMIC AND ITS RESULTS—DEATH OF JIKUE—BRIGHTER PROSPECTS OF THE MISSION—EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF DEPUTATION—WANT OF MISSIONARIES—APPOINTMENT OF MESSRS CREAGH AND JONES—THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MISSIONARIES—HOUSES GIVEN UP FOR THEM—STATE OF THE MISSION—MR JONES SETTLES AT LOTA—DETERMINED OPPOSITION OF THE HEATHEN—HEATHEN CHIEF VISITS THE ISLE OF PINES—THE RESULT—FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO RECOMMENCE OUR MISSION ON NEW CALEDONIA—INCONSISTENCY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

MARE lies to the south-east of the other islands of the group. It is about eighty miles in circumference, with physical characteristics resembling those of Lifu. To describe the one, is to say nearly all that can be said about the other. The natives were formerly fierce and treacherous cannibals. They cut off a boat's crew of six men belonging to the brig *Martha* of Sydney in 1841. In 1843 they attempted to capture the *Brigand* of China. They attacked her at daylight and were beaten off, but she had seventeen of her crew killed in the engagement. Towards the end of that year they attacked and captured a vessel named the *Sisters* belonging to Sydney, and murdered the whole of her crew; and in 1851 captured the cutter *Lucy Anne*, and massacred her crew also. These

massacres, however, were committed in connection with the sandal-wood trade, and will doubtless find an explanation in the following paragraph from the Rev. A. W. Murray's "Missions in Western Polynesia." The writer had visited Mare and located teachers there a few months before sandal-wood was discovered on the island, and from his intimate connection with Western Polynesia, is well qualified to speak upon that villanous and bloody traffic:—

"Shortly after our visit to the island it was noised abroad that sandal-wood was to be found on it. Parties in search of that article flocked to it, and after a short time a series of deeds commenced which, happily, had few parallels in any single island of the Pacific."

Although there is a striking resemblance not only between the physical features of Mare and Lifu, but also between the language and manners and customs of the inhabitants, yet the natives of the former island are distinguished in Western Polynesia for their energy and force of character. They are bold and daring. Captains of vessels and planters prefer them to those of other islands for sailors and native overseers on cotton and sugar plantations. They are, I am told, a terror to the Tannese (more than a hundred of whom, all armed, have been put to flight by a few Mare-men), and other natives on some of the heathen islands in the New Hebrides group. This force of character which made them fiercer cannibals, now makes those who have embraced the gospel more active Christians than their neighbours. We should naturally suppose that it would be a difficult matter to

introduce Christianity among such a people. No doubt it would have been if God had not, in a peculiar manner, prepared the way.

In 1834 a party of eight natives of Niuataputapu, one of the Friendly Islands, left their homes in a canoe for a neighbouring island. Before they reached their destination they encountered bad weather, were driven out of their course, and lost at sea. They drifted to Mare, a distance of more than a thousand miles, and were saved by and became the friends of the powerful chief Jeïue. Although they were heathens, and became associated with the natives of Mare in their wars and heathen practices, yet they were not entirely ignorant of the true God. They had heard of the arrival of missionaries at Tonga and Samoa who declared that Jehovah was the true God, but they do not appear to have known much more on the subject. In 1841 the Rev. A. W. Murray proceeded in the missionary brig *Camden* to Western Polynesia with native teachers, to endeavour to commence missionary operations on New Caledonia and the Loyalty group. They arrived at the small island of Toka, which they mistook for Mare, so little being known of the group at that time. After having intercourse with the natives, they left for Mare, where they arrived next morning. We must let Mr Murray give his own account of their reception :—

We lay off the island [he writes] the whole forenoon, anxiously looking out for canoes, or something on shore that might indicate the presence of human beings. At length, tired with waiting, and almost despairing as to the accomplishment of our object, a boat was lowered, and Captain Morgan and myself went in close to the shore.

Still nothing hopeful appeared. A rugged, repulsive-looking coast stretched away before us, as far as we could see, without any trace of human beings. We pulled slowly along the coast, eagerly looking out for something that might encourage hope.

At length a canoe was descried at a distance making towards us, which filled us with joy. We felt as if our object was gained. We were soon within hail; and how were we surprised and delighted to be accosted with the following language, "I know the true God!" Who could this be in this land of darkness who knew the true God, and who could speak a language intelligible to us? The mystery was soon solved. Our new friend turned out to be a native of Niuatapu, one of the Tonga or Friendly Islands, who with seven others had lost their way at sea, and had been by a merciful Providence brought to Mare. Taufu and his companions had been on the island for about seven years. Thus he was just the man we wanted—an interpreter provided to our hand. We had lowered our boat at a venture, and pulled in to the part of the island that we happened to be off; but had we been at any other part of the coast, we should in all probability have been able to accomplish nothing. Thus we were led in a way that we knew not. Thus had we, as we have so often had since, to mark the hand of God in our Polynesian missions.

To a guide thus marvellously provided for us we did not hesitate to give ourselves up; and we were led by him to a place named Eoche, in the bay of Waeko, which has ever since been occupied as one of our mission-stations. Here we found Jeiue, the principal chief of one side of the island. He did not usually reside here, but was on a visit at that time; and this also was an important providential coincidence, as he was the only man on the side of the island where Taufu lived, and had influence, with whom the teachers could be left.

The chief and one or two attendants went with us on board, and Taufu and the teachers designed for the island slept on shore. All was satisfactorily arranged with the chief and his attendants; the teachers were much pleased with all they saw on shore, and the important step taken which has led to all the subsequent changes which have transpired on the Loyalty Islands. What mighty consequences are suspended on incidents in themselves trifling and apparently fortuitous!

Who would notice an acorn tossed about in a rough sea? Yet it may drift on to some barren island, become

a mighty oak, nay, a mighty forest, and ultimately invaluable beds of coal awaiting the invention of steam! How little did Taufu and his companions think, as they were driven away from their native land by a contrary wind, that the God of whom they had but just heard was sending them to Mare to await the arrival of the missionary ship, which was to follow when they had acquired the language of the people, and gained a little influence amongst them, in order that they might protect the pioneers of the gospel! The party from the *Camden* do not appear to have been aware that the natives had arranged to kill them all and take the boat, although such (an old native of Mare has assured me) was the case; and from which they were deterred, no doubt, by Taufu being in the boat, whose presence and influence led not only to their lives being spared, but to the teachers being received as the friends of old Jeiue.

The teachers had not been on Mare long when an epidemic swept over the island, from which many natives died. They, as is usual under such circumstances, were blamed as the cause, and it was determined that they should not live. Jeiue ordered one of his old priests to kill them by his incantations. Old Jöni proceeded the following night to the teachers' house, at the back of which he performed his incantations whilst the teachers were at prayers. He repeated the operation several times without effect, after which it was decided to despatch them with the club, seeing their gods had no power over them. From this cruel death they were saved by the powerful arm of Naisilin, who succeeded

Jeie in the chieftdom, and became the friend and protector of the teachers. After the attempt had been made to kill the teachers, the incantations of the priests became powerless upon their enemies, who in several successive battles were victorious. Jeie and his subjects were greatly afraid, and at a council held at the village meeting-house on the subject of their disasters, it was the unanimous opinion that the God of the teachers was angry with them for not embracing their religion. Consequently they publicly resolved to become converts to the new faith. As the leading men had come to this decision, the others were of course obliged to follow their example, although for years they were merely Christians by name.

After the death of old Jeie (who died a virtual heathen, although he attended the services and professed Christianity) the prospects of the mission brightened. Naisilin became chief, and an energetic reformer. Very soon the whole tribe placed themselves under the instruction of the teachers, professing to have embraced Christianity. Most of them were doubtless actuated more by fear of their chief than by any desire to change their religion, or habits and customs. It was, however, from whatever motive, a move in the right direction. Old Jeie being at heart a heathen, encouraged the continuance of heathen practices amongst his people, although they all professed to have embraced the religion of the teachers. When Naisilin came into power, he assembled his tribe and publicly announced his determination to become a *consistent* Christian. He

denounced their inconsistencies as the cause of their sufferings from diseases and disasters, and ordered forthwith the destruction of the gods. Christianity at once became popular. Churches and schoolhouses were erected and well filled by regular and attentive hearers, and improvements were made in their persons and dwellings. The following extract from the report of the Revs. A. W. Murray and J. P. Sunderland, who visited the island in 1852, will give an idea of the progress made :—

We went on shore at the very spot where eleven years before we landed the teachers. What a change since then ! Instead of a rude, disorderly rabble of naked savages, we found a company of people—about six or seven hundred—all seated in a circle, all more or less clothed, all quiet, mild, and kind. We proceeded to the chapel. The scene there, and the emotions to which it gave rise, baffle description. The chapel is 72 feet long and 24 broad. It was densely crowded with evidently deeply interested worshippers. There is a Sabbath school at noon, attended by about 200, who apply themselves to learning to read with the utmost vigour. Another general service is held in the afternoon. There are 31 good readers, 200 members of a select Bible-class, and 51 candidates for baptism and the Lord's Supper. Hitherto there have been two teachers at this station—Fili and Mika, both Samoans. Fili was taken suddenly ill, and died a few days before our arrival, so that now there is only one. Fili died as it becomes a Christian to die. The poor people made great lamentation over him, and appeared as if they could hardly part with his widow and children. The state of things at Guahma, our other station on this island, is rather in advance of what it is here. Guahma is the principal station. It is the centre whence the astonishing movement now in progress took its rise. There is a chapel there 120 feet by 30, which the teachers say is filled every Sabbath. There are 50 good readers at the station, and the people, old and young, are striving to learn. A large number at both stations have abandoned polygamy and other works of darkness. The Sabbath is universally observed throughout the Christian district. There are upwards of 70 candidates for baptism and Church membership, and altogether a most marvellous change has

taken place. The change began about three years ago. There is reason to believe, however, that it was silently going on for some time before ; but its external development was prevented by Jeiué, the old chief, who received and protected the teachers, but who was nevertheless decidedly unfriendly to Christianity. After his death, his sons, who were well disposed, encouraged the people to embrace Christianity, themselves leading the way.

The teachers, as might be expected, very soon led the people to a limit beyond which they were unable to advance. They had done all they could—prepared the way for a more effective agency—and unless European missionaries stepped in to carry on this glorious work, reaction and retrogression might be expected. In 1853 the Rev. A. W. Murray of Samoa wrote a series of papers upon the claims of Western Polynesia upon the Christians of Australia, which were published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and which led to the occupation of Mare by English missionaries. The church assembling at Pitt Street, Sydney, under the pastoral care of the late Rev. Dr Ross, engaged to support two missionaries if the directors of the London Missionary Society would procure and send them to labour in Western Polynesia. In answer to this proposal, the Revs. S. M. Creagh and J. Jones were appointed to Mare, where they arrived towards the end of October 1854, accompanied by Messrs Hardie and Sunderland of the Samoan Mission. Mr Hardie, in his report of the introduction of the brethren to their sphere of labour, writes :—

Very soon a large number eagerly assembled in the space before the house erected for the missionaries. We then asked them if they still held the desire, repeatedly expressed, for missionaries to come and live among them ? whether it was their wish that Messrs Jones and Creagh should do so ? and if they did, whether they

would protect them and their wives, treat them kindly and attend to their instructions? To all these questions the chiefs promptly answered in the affirmative. We then told them, that in case of political differences or of war breaking out, the missionaries could take no part; that their aim would be to promote peace and friendship among all parties, and to labour for the present welfare and everlasting happiness of all.

All being thus satisfactorily arranged, the next thing was to get houses as temporary residences for our newly-arrived friends, and Mr and Mrs Sunderland, who were appointed to remain with them for the time to assist them in commencing their labours. As there were three families to be accommodated, we wished to know what houses they might have, and were told they might have any they liked. We soon fixed on three convenient plastered cottages, which their owners gave up most cheerfully. Having thus got the way fully prepared for the landing of our friends and their property, we returned to the vessel, which was soon brought to anchor about two miles from the settlement. Early in the afternoon of the 25th October, the landing of the goods and the cattle was completed, and our dear friends took up their residence at this most interesting station. Seldom or ever has it been the lot of missionaries to commence their labours under circumstances so favourable, among a people so prepared to receive them, and to benefit by their instructions. . . . At Netehe, the station at which the missionaries now are, and throughout the district of Guahma, the whole population, with the exception of the very aged and the very young, can read, and about forty can write. About one hundred persons are candidates for gospel ordinances, and there is every reason to hope that the missionaries will soon have the happiness of forming a Christian Church. Each of the chiefs has put away all his wives except one; twelve plastered houses have been built; and since last voyage, in place of a large plastered chapel, which a storm had blown down, a strong stone chapel has been built, 80 feet long by 50 feet wide, which is filled to overflowing every Sabbath with attentive hearers.

Such were the circumstances under which the brethren Creagh and Jones commenced their missionary labours in Mare. Mr Creagh took charge of the station at Netehe, and Mr Jones went round to Lota, in the bay of Waeko, a distance of about fifteen miles. One-third of

the island was nominally Christian; the other two-thirds were fiercely and determinedly savage and cannibal. The Christian party were several times challenged to fight as of old, but refused, and asked the heathen to join them in receiving the gospel; this their enemies declared they would never do, and threatened to kill any who should dare to carry such a message from them into their district. The missionaries saw the magnitude and difficulty of the work before them, and bent their energies to it. The language was soon acquired; schools conducted upon improved plans; a boarding-school established at each station, and the printing-press at work.

It is unnecessary to detail the gradual progress of this new and better order of things. Whilst, however, the missionaries were delighted and encouraged by witnessing the advance of the work among the Guahma tribe, they were disappointed and grieved at the continued opposition of the heathen, whom they sought in vain to win over to the gospel. The teachers whom they sent were often maltreated; on one occasion one of them was killed and eaten. The missionaries themselves visited them, and were always allowed to return unhurt and unheeded. The heathen did not appear to object so much to embracing the gospel as to being reconciled to their enemies, or at least succumbing to them, which they supposed they would be doing by receiving the gospel from them or their missionaries. They regarded Christianity as the religion of their enemies, and appeared to want something else for themselves if they abandoned

the religion of their fathers. Hence their readiness, as at Lifu, to receive the Roman Catholic priests. After many years, however, some of the tribes yielded, and allowed teachers to settle among them. One of the heathen chiefs went to the Isle of Pines to visit his friends; he remained there a year or two, then returned a full-fledged Roman Catholic with medals and crosses, and two native teachers appointed by the priests to instruct his people in the "true faith," with a message from the "oily fathers" that they were about to follow! Unfortunately for the "Propaganda," however, this chief happened to be one of the least influential on the island. He had but few subjects and very little territory, so that the heathen felt no disposition to adopt *his* religion.

For many years we had been endeavouring to recommence our mission on New Caledonia. In 1861 I had an interview with the governor on the subject (being deputed by my brethren), but he gave us no hope that we should be allowed to labour there. At a subsequent period Mr Jones had an interview with that officer's successor, who distinctly stated that he had orders from his superior in Paris to prevent the establishment of an English Protestant mission in New Caledonia; he thought that perhaps the Imperial Government would have no objection to the French Protestants commencing a mission there. As the Government professed to allow us the same liberty as Roman Catholics, and as the priests were likely to commence a mission on Mare, I asked the commandant, one day in conversation, upon what principle they refused to allow us to labour on New

Caledonia. He assured me that they did not act from *principle* at all in the matter, but from *expediency*. I was desirable, he said, to endeavour to keep Catholic and Protestant natives apart. Then, I said, the priests should not be allowed to go to Mare. If they obtain permission from the Government to go there, where there are not a dozen people who want them, and where we have been labouring more than twenty years, and have about four thousand converts, surely we ought to be allowed to labour on New Caledonia, where we had a mission before the French took the island, and where there are several tribes anxiously waiting for us. He acknowledged that, according to the liberty granted to us by the Emperor, we had as much right to go to New Caledonia as the priests had to go to Mare; but that, according to French law, we had no right even in the Loyalty group, being Englishmen.

XXIV.

ARRIVAL OF THE PRIESTS AT MARE—ENTERING INTO OTHER MEN'S LABOURS—
THE OCCASION OF QUARREL WITH THE PROTESTANTS—COMMENCEMENT OF
HOSTILITIES BY THE ROMAN CATHOLICS—THE AGGRESSORS ENCOURAGED
BY THE CONNIVANCE OF THE AUTHORITIES—MR CREAGH'S LETTER TO
THE COMMANDANT—MR CREAGH'S VISIT TO THE PRIESTS AND THE
HEATHEN—POLICY OF THE PRIESTS—THE FISHING EXPEDITION DE-
CIDED UPON—ATTACK BY HEATHEN—WANAKAM SENDS FOR RELIEF—
THE GUAHMAITES ATTACKED—THE ASSAILANTS REINFORCED—THE
RETREAT—THE BATTLE WITH "BAPTISED" WEAPONS—HEATHEN
ABANDON THE ROMAN CATHOLICS—CHAGRIN OF THE PRIESTS AT THE
FAILURE OF THEIR SCHEMES—THEY PLAY THEIR LAST CARD—THE
COMMANDANT ATTEMPTS TO CROSS TO MARE—THE PRIEST FIRES
UPON NAISILIN—THE SURRENDER—NAISILIN VISITS LIFU—HIS IM-
PRISONMENT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pretended anxiety of the Govern-
ment to keep the Catholic and Protestant natives apart
in order to prevent quarrels, they gave permission to the
priests to proceed to Mare for the purpose of establish-
ing a mission there. Nor could they be ignorant of the
character of one of the "holy fathers" who settled on
Mare, seeing that a short time before they had called
him to appear before the civil court at Noumea, on a
charge of having excited the natives of his district on
New Caledonia to attack the European settlers, seven of
whom were massacred in the night, and had banished
him from his station in consequence. This was scarcely
the sort of man to promote peace on Mare. He landed,

accompanied by a young French priest and a number of natives from the Isle of Pines, and endeavoured at once, by a liberal distribution of tobacco, &c., to ingratiate himself with the enemies of the Christian party. This was a policy truly worthy of the father of their system.

Considering the boasted self-sacrifice of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and the zeal which they manifest in trying to make proselytes among Protestants, and on islands where Protestant missionaries have preceded them, we might expect to find them the bravest and best of pioneers, and to see the cross erected on almost every island in the South Seas. The fact is, however, that there is only *one* island in the whole Pacific to which they have introduced Christianity. In every other case they have followed Protestant teachers, and even then have appeared to feel insecure (Frenchman-like) until they are under the wing of the soldiers. This is really lamentable, when we consider the great number of islands still shrouded in heathen darkness. There is plenty of room in the heathen world, and even in the South Seas, for every section of the Church without interfering with the labours of each other, and sowing the seeds of discord amongst the natives, and widening breaches which the introduction of Christianity ought to heal.

The priests very soon found an occasion of quarrel with the Protestants. They took up their residence with the chief, who had been to the Isle of Pines, but were very dissatisfied with the situation. It was an inland village, and difficult of access from the sea-coast.

Having learnt that the people formerly occupied a beautifully-situated village by the sea-side, at the extremity of Naisilin's territory, from which they had been driven in war, and which was now occupied by a party who paid tribute to Naisilin, and who had recently embraced Christianity, a teacher being then located at the village, they urged the chief to claim the land from which his fathers had been driven, assuring him that in case of difficulty the French soldiers would come to his assistance. The heathen chiefs, who were enemies of Naisilin, were also assured by the priest that if they embraced the "French religion," the authorities would make them great chiefs! They had heard a good deal about the doings of the commandant at Lifu, which tended to corroborate the statements of the priests on this point. The heathen, seeing, as they thought, an opportunity of being revenged upon their old enemies, were disposed to unite in any attack upon the Christians.

After this feeling had fermented for a while, the Roman Catholics declared the land in question to be theirs, and burnt down the Protestant chapel that was erected upon it, telling the people that if Naisilin came there again to fish (it was his favourite fishing-ground) they would kill him, and all who accompanied him. Naisilin was not the man to be frightened by their threats, or allow his enemies to rob him of his territory and rights with impunity; but he was now a Christian, and having embraced the gospel of peace, he felt constrained to seek a more peaceable way of settling their differences than by war. He consequently proceeded to

Lifu to state his grievances to the commandant (he was the only Mare chief who went to see the commandant at Lifu, although all were required to do so on the Emperor's fête-day). The commandant promised to visit Mare at once and arrange their difficulties; but months passed, and although several good opportunities presented themselves, he made no attempt to get across. The heathen party, seeing that no notice was taken of the aggressors, became bold and insulting, sent messages to the Christians challenging them to fight, and daring them to go and fish on the contested ground. They also drove away the teachers who had been located with some of the petty chiefs in their districts. The Guahma people were greatly enraged at these repeated attacks and insults of the heathen tribes. Two of their teachers had been killed and eaten; their plantations had been plundered; their chapel burnt down; their teachers driven away from those who were anxious to retain them; and a part of their territory seized. Many were for war. Let us accept the challenge of these insolent pagans, they said. Let us show them that we are neither "cowards" nor "women." Let us, at least, go to our fishing-ground, and see if they will fulfil their threats. Mr Creagh had great difficulty in preventing them from carrying out the last-named proposition, the chief having consented. At last he prevailed upon them to postpone the fishing expedition until he wrote himself to the commandant at Lifu, explaining how matters stood, and urging him to visit Mare as soon as possible, as war was imminent. He informed the commandant

of the burning of the chapel, the expulsion of the teacher, and the seizure of the land. His letter arrived soon after the Commission of Inquiry had been to Lifu and Uvea, and was not even acknowledged by the commandant, who was doubtless greatly annoyed that we had succeeded in getting a commission appointed to inquire into his administration. Naisilin visited the governor at Noumea, but got no redress. Months passed away, and there being no hope of a visit from the commandant, Mr Creagh made a tour round the heathen district (Mr Jones was then in England), had interviews with the people and the priest, and tried to bring the former to reason and terms. But it was evident that all were influenced and actuated by the priests, or rather the priest who had been banished from the north end of New Caledonia. By this "holy father" he was treated in a very unholy and unapostolic manner. He refused to allow the native to take water from his well for Mr Creagh's horse; and when Mr Creagh called upon him, he abused him as a "heretic," and asked him angrily what right he had to go among the heathen teaching lies and leading people to perdition; told him that he was "a bad man," &c. Mr Creagh saw there was no use in trying to reason with such a man, and left the place.

The priests were presuming too much upon the forbearance of the Guahmaites, or miscalculating their force against the Roman Catholics and heathen united. By stirring up these old war feelings, and ranging two-thirds of the island against the tribe of Naisilin, they

hoped, doubtless, to crush the Guahmaites, and establish themselves as the *pères* of the conquerors. Naisilin, however, was not a man to be trifled with. If the priests supposed that they could treat him as the Protestant chiefs on Uvea had been treated, they had greatly mistaken their man. There being no prospect of a visit from the commandant, a day was fixed for the postponed fishing expedition. The Guahma tribe were anxious to avoid war, but they were not prepared to allow their enemies quietly to take possession of their lands, and persecute their people; they had heard of the persecutions on Uvea, and were determined to maintain their rights. The fishing party were absent three or four days, so that the heathen tribes had an opportunity of carrying out their threats; they made no attack, however, so the Guahmaites returned in peace, giving most of the fish they had caught to a small tribe that accompanied them, who were allies of theirs. This tribe was waylaid by the heathen and narrowly escaped being butchered; fortunately the enemy was seen, and all fled to the bush and secreted themselves. The heathen, finding their prey had escaped, went on to the village, which they burnt. They then proceeded to another Protestant village, where they committed depredations upon the plantations, houses, and chapel, but did not burn them. On the following day they went to kill and eat the cattle of Naisilin's ally, but found it more difficult to kill a bull than a man, so the cattle escaped.

Wanakam (the ally of Naisilin, who was, with his

people, confined to the bush) sent by sea to Naisilin to inform him of their perilous position, and seek relief. The old chief at once assembled his subjects, and proceeded to the place indicated, to relieve the refugees. They were seen by the heathen, who were in high glee at the prospect of killing *all* the Guahmaites. The houses having been burnt down, Naisilin and his people were obliged to spend the night in the open air. The heathen had arranged to commence the attack early next morning, and, accordingly, at daybreak the Guahmaites were assailed. They were attacked from the right and left by a numerous force. Naisilin had given orders that they were not to fight unless compelled in their efforts to save the refugees; even when attacked, his orders were, "Defend yourselves, but press on." When, however, several of his subjects were wounded, he ordered a halt, and an attack upon the enemy, which they very soon routed. This victory was attributed to two of the Guahma natives, who fired upon their assailants, causing the whole army to take to their heels, although the shots were perfectly harmless, the men having forgotten to put in the balls!

The Guahmaites pressed on to the relief of their friends, and the retreating heathen party, meeting their allies, returned with them to renew the attack. The heathen and Roman Catholic tribes being now united, were much more numerous than the Christian party, and doubtless counted upon an easy victory. Naisilin's army did not consist of more than three or four hundred men, but they were men in whose ability and bravery he had

perfect confidence. They would follow and obey their brave old leader, who was, indeed, a host in himself. The heathen, although more numerous, were less courageous; and having no good leader, each man followed his own plan, which appeared to be, *to get home as quickly as possible (after one of their number had been killed)*. Their legs were of infinitely more service to them than their arms! Several were wounded on both sides before this man was killed, which decided the battle in favour of the Guahmaites. The conquerors were now "flushed with success," and "determined to secure a permanent peace," so they pursued their enemies, most of whom had taken refuge on their "git"—a fine natural fortress. The priests managed, however, to rally them once more, and inspire them with a little courage. The "holy father" gave them his own gun, sprinkled all their weapons with "holy water" and pronounced them invincible! Naisilin and his little army came upon them close to the Roman Catholic chapel, where they had a terrible encounter. The Papists and heathen fought bravely near the priest's house; but notwithstanding their "baptised" weapons, fourteen of their number were killed, and they were driven back to their fortress. Two of their villages were then destroyed, except the dwelling of the priests and their two chapels, which were not injured; although the Roman Catholics had burnt the Protestant chapel some time before. The Guahmaites then returned, leaving one dead on the field—the only man they lost—who was cooked and eaten by the heathen in the evening.

The result of this battle led the heathen to abandon the Roman Catholics. The spell was broken. The "baptising" of the arms was fatal to the interests of the priests. The heathen declared they would have nothing to do with a religion so "powerless," and prepared to *huthe* (give property, acknowledging themselves conquered) to Naisilin. This is not only customary, but considered by the natives a necessary guarantee of peace on the part of the conquered, if presented; and on the part of the conquerors, if accepted. Netché was very soon swarmed with the heathen tribes, who came down, one after another, to *huthe*, and according to custom, could not return to their lands until taken back by the victors. Instead of receiving the harsh treatment usually experienced by prisoners of war among the heathen, they were kindly entertained, Mr Creagh contributing not "the fatted calf," but a fatted ox, which the heathen pronounced to be *nearly* as good as human flesh!

We may easily conceive the chagrin of the priests at the course which events had taken. In their "zeal for the Church," they had brought about a war, the consequence of which had recoiled most completely upon themselves. They intended to humble Naisilin and exalt the Roman Catholic and heathen chiefs, to prevent the heathen from joining the Protestants by bringing the latter into disrepute as a conquered tribe, and to lead them into the arms of the "mother Church," to which they would attribute their victories. The result was, however, quite the reverse. Naisilin was now, in the eyes of the natives, a great man. The ceremonies of

the " holy Catholic Church " were regarded as useless as their native ineffectual charms ; and the number of Protestants was greatly augmented by several heathen tribes embracing Christianity.

The priests had yet, however, one more card to play, that was to get the soldiers over to their assistance. They had hoped to accomplish their object by uniting the Roman Catholics and heathen against the Protestants ; but that scheme had been a miserable failure. They now left their homes, urged their followers not to yield to Naisilin, assuring them that the commandant would soon be over with soldiers to assist them, and repaired with all their party to the *git* (the natural fortress), having sent three men in a canoe with a letter to the commandant at Lifu, informing him that the Protestants had commenced a war of extirpation against the Catholics ; that they had " massacred " seventeen natives, burnt villages, and destroyed plantations ; that they, with the remainder of their followers, were refugees on a high rock, besieged by the Protestants, their houses plundered, and their lives in imminent danger ! ! ! They claimed protection as Frenchmen, and implored the commandant to come to their relief without delay.

Upon the receipt of this letter the commandant immediately made an effort to cross over to Mare with ten soldiers in an open boat. They were out two days and a night, but were obliged to return, the wind being unfavourable and the sea too high. He therefore took the opportunity of a trader going to New Caledonia to acquaint the governor with the state of affairs at Mare, and ask

for a vessel in which to visit the island. In the meantime Naisilin had given the chief of the Roman Catholic tribe so many days in which to surrender, and present himself, like the others, at Netché. As the time had expired, he proceeded with his army to the fortress, and demanded that they should surrender. The priest fired several times at Naisilin from the top of the rock, but missed him, one ball going through the French flag close by him—a flag given to him when at Lifu by the commandant. The natives were for peace, and had even collected the property to be taken to Naisilin as a *luthe*; but the priests prevailed upon them to hold out, assuring them that soldiers would soon arrive from Lifu. Whilst the arrangements were being made for peace, the priest kept firing upon the Guahmaites from above, but he only succeeded in shooting one man, and that not fatally—the ball went through his arm. What sort of a heart must that be that allows its owner to fire not in self-defence, but deliberately at a fellow-creature with intent to kill!

To take the fortress by storm would have been a very difficult and sanguinary task, requiring more “pluck” than natives usually possess; and there appears to have been no disposition to starve them out, which might easily have been done. Naisilin gave them, according to their desire, another week to consider the matter, not knowing that they had sent off a canoe in the night to seek help from the soldiers at Lifu. Five days passed, and no help came to the priests; their followers then resolved, notwithstanding their remonstrances, to leave

the fortress, and proceed to Netché with the required acknowledgment to Naisilin. They did so, leaving the priests to return to their homes, and informed Naisilin that they were ready to become Protestants if he desired it—*i.e.*, if he ordered them. Naisilin replied, that in reference to religion they were at perfect liberty to do as they pleased.

All the tribes had now acknowledged Naisilin as conqueror. He was, in fact, King of Mare, and this state of things had been brought about by the suicidal policy of the priests. The conquered acknowledged to Naisilin, and afterwards to the commission, that the priests were the instigators of the whole. All promised for the future to live in peace, whether as Roman Catholics, heathens, or Protestants. So Naisilin having, as he considered, rendered good service to the French authorities, prepared to visit the commandant at Lifu, and inform him of what had transpired. The priest, however, had crossed before him, and prepared the commandant for his reception, so that when he arrived he was put in prison.

The Mare-men who accompanied Naisilin were astounded, and exceedingly indignant at this dastardly act of the commandant. The Lifu natives were less surprised, whilst the foreign residents—French included—said it was a shame. The old chief had gone to Lifu in a small boat; walked across the island (a distance of fifty miles) to Chepenehe, where he washed and dressed himself; then bearing a French flag, and followed by his suite, they marched past the bottom of our garden

to the office of the commandant, to report how they had been attacked, and with what success they had defended themselves and restored peace throughout the island. To be thrust into prison without any trial under these circumstances, and kept there for six weeks, was cruelly unjust.

XXV.

THE COMMANDANT VISITS MARE—CHIEFS SENT OVER TO LIFU—UNJUST AND CRUEL DIVISION OF THE ISLAND—SEIZURE OF NAISILIN'S LETTERS—INTERVIEW WITH MR CREAGH—EXTRACT FROM MR CREAGH'S LETTER—THE STATE IN WHICH THE COMMANDANT LEAVES MARE—THE COMMANDANT'S INTERVIEW WITH THE CAPTIVES AT LIFU—TREATMENT OF NAISILIN'S SON AND HEIR—"THE REIGN OF TERROR"—AN ATTACK UPON THE PEACEFUL NATIVES—A NATIVE STABBED BY THE CORPORAL—NATIVES ATTACKED WHILST AT WORSHIP IN THE VILLAGE CHAPEL—THE NATIVES IN A BAD CASE—THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—DELIGHT OF THE PROTESTANTS AT THE ARRIVAL OF THE COMMISSION—HOW TO GAIN THE ESTEEM OF THE NATIVES—THE CHARGES OF THE PRIEST AGAINST MR CREAGH—M. RAT SUCCEEDED BY THE LIEUTENANT FROM LIFU—THE EYES OF THE NATIVES ARE OPENED—THEY LEAVE THE PRIESTS' PARTY TO JOIN THE PROTESTANTS—STRATAGEM OF THE PRIESTS TO GAIN CONVERTS.

In reply to the letter of the commandant informing the governor of the disturbances on Mare, a small vessel was sent over to Lifu, and placed at his service, that he might visit that island, and, after careful investigation, make an official report upon the recent war. Leaving Naisilin closely confined in the *inner* prison, he took fifteen soldiers, provisions, ammunition, irons for prisoners, &c., and sailed for Mare. Arriving there, he took up his residence at the teacher's house, on Mr Jones' premises (this teacher had charge of the station while Mr Jones was in England), and sent for the chiefs

of the various tribes. The natives were surprised to see him without Naisilin, and began to suspect that all was not right. In answer to their questions, the commandant told them that their chief was staying at his house, and that he had a servant to wait upon him! There was truth in this, although it was evidently intended to mislead. The commandant doubtless regarded the prison as his house, and there was a native appointed to attend to Naisilin, but his business was not so much to cook his food as to provide it; yet when it was known that we were supplying him daily from our table, it was prohibited as being too good for him. The man was ordered to get such native food as he could, and cook it himself.

When the chiefs were assembled, they were at once conveyed to the vessel and sent over to Lifu; but were not, like Naisilin, imprisoned, although they acknowledged to the commandant that *they* had commenced the war. Those who had accompanied Naisilin to Lifu were kept prisoners at large at Chepenehe, yet these Roman Catholics and heathen chiefs were not placed under any *surveillance* whatever, they went wherever they pleased. It did not require much effort on the part of the priests and their followers to show these men who were the favoured party, and what they might expect if they became Protestants. Two of their number who had decided in favour of Protestantism when they were at Mare, now declared themselves Roman Catholics; and all were persuaded to reside at the Roman Catholic village, ten miles from Chepenehe.

At Mare the commandant had interviews with the

priest, the people, and with Mr Creagh. He took from Naisilin's sons the native property which had been given by the conquered chiefs to their father, promising that he would hand it over to the chiefs when he got to Lifu. He made a new division of the island, pronouncing the disputed land to be the property of the Roman Catholics; and even other land, *containing some of the plantations of the Protestants*, was included in the portions given to the Roman Catholic tribe. This was like taking the bread out of the mouths of the Protestants and giving it to their enemies. A son of Naisilin's, who was acting as chief during the old man's absence, with the commandant's consent, remonstrated against this injustice, for which he was put down and another relative appointed in his stead. The young man was even more decided than the other; he told the commandant plainly that they would not submit to such a division of the land, that after he left they would punish the first man that dared to take a yam from their plantations.

The commandant went to Naisilin's house, searched his boxes and took all his letters. A messenger was sent at once to the priest on the opposite side of the island, who returned three days afterwards, and immediately after his arrival the letters were returned. Upon examination it was found that two were missing—copies of letters of Naisilin to the commandant. The old chief's daughter-in-law (an intelligent native woman who speaks and writes English well) wrote to the commandant a polite note, reminding him that he had omitted to return two of the letters which he had taken, and

requesting him to give them to the bearer of her letter. The native returned, however, without either the letters or a reply. This was a pretty thing for a French officer to do, and especially one holding the position that he did ! I could, however, refer to other acts of his of an infinitely more disgraceful character, but I will not defile these pages by narrating them.

In his letter to Mr Creagh, requiring him to appear at his temporary residence to give evidence upon the subject of his visit to Mare, the commandant charged that gentleman with being the cause of the war ! Mr Creagh, who is an uncommonly quiet, judicious man—almost a Quaker in his sentiments on war—felt greatly annoyed at this gross libel upon his character, and required the commandant either to prove or retract his injurious charge, knowing that it must have been made from the misrepresentations of the priests. The commandant, however, did neither ; he was unable to do the one, and not honourable enough to do the other. When taking Mr Creagh's evidence, he refused to receive that part which had reference to the causes of the war, saying that he had heard that from others ; but Mr Creagh insisted upon his taking his evidence *complete* or not at all. The following is an extract from a letter which I received from Mr Creagh upon the proceedings of the commandant at Mare :—

I have no hesitancy in giving it as my conviction that the commandant has acted throughout with the greatest partiality. I have formed this opinion not hastily, but with great reluctance. I have tried to believe that he wished to act justly, but I am compelled to say, with great regret, that I cannot see any evidence of impartiality. He seems to take in everything that the priest tells him, and to act

upon it. Many have been made prisoners, but some of them could not tell you, after being liberated, what they were detained for.

Having been three weeks at Mare, the commandant prepared to leave. For six days he had been the guest of that villanous old priest who had been expelled New Caledonia, and who was unquestionably the instigator of the disturbances at Mare. The commandant was no doubt a firm believer in the priest's theory, that the natives, in order to be French, must be Roman Catholic. There appeared to be little hope for Naisilin and the Protestants except from above. Everything was turned against them. They were humbled, and the Papists exalted. They were imprisoned, and the Papists petted. Their land, and even their food, was taken and given to the Papists. Naisilin was represented as being a usurper and a very ambitious man, and the Guahmaites as a factious tribe; whilst the Papists were the poor persecuted sheep against whom a war of extirpation had been commenced! It was considered necessary for the "public tranquillity" (!) to leave a corporal and eight soldiers with the priest—*i.e.*, a body of armed men backed by the authorities, who were to enforce the arrangements made by the commandant for *disturbing* the public tranquillity. Both the priest and the commandant knew very well that, after the soldiers left neither the Roman Catholics nor the heathen would think of taking either the land or the yams of the Protestants—all would remain quietly at their own place; but they knew also that "Protestantism" and "English influence" would be supreme, and that, they were

determined, should not be the case. Corporal Rat, who was left in charge, appeared to understand what was required from him; he saw the course which the commandant had steered, and knew full well that promotion lay in that direction. Right or wrong is seldom a question with such men.

A few days after the commandant's return to Lifu, the Mare chiefs were assembled and their evidence taken. Naisilin was released from prison, but not allowed to leave Chepenehe. His health failed, and no wonder. He had been closely confined for six weeks—not allowed to bathe or to take any exercise, except one day that he was permitted to go to the hospital, the doctor having pronounced it necessary; on the following day he was conducted back to his cell. Being an old man accustomed to fresh air and sea-bathing, the wonder is that he did not suffer more from his confinement. The Roman Catholic and heathen chiefs were set at liberty. Naisilin was detained until the commandant received the governor's instructions respecting him. The soldiers proved to be Job's comforters to the old man, assuring him that his head would be placed under the guillotine at Noumea, others telling him that he would be transported to Tahiti. I have no doubt that the commandant fully intended that Naisilin should not see Mare again. His son and heir was taken to Lifu amongst the prisoners, and ordered by the commandant to send for his wife and remain at the Government school for six months, in order to learn the French language. The young chief, however, had received a letter from his wife, containing such

an account of the commandant's conduct whilst at Mare as made him exceedingly indignant, and firmly resolved not to send for her. He knew that to give publicity to his wrongs would be sure to bring down upon his defenceless head the vengeance of the commandant, so he simply told him, that being a married man with a family, he would not consent to become a scholar amongst the boys in the Government school. The commandant ordered him to be put in prison, and kept there until he did consent. His father, old Naisilin, although only relieved from prison the day before, was determined to go back to his cell with his son; and it required several soldiers to pull him away from the prison door when they were immuring his son. After a few days Jewene consented to attend the school, but did not send for his wife.

At Mare the reign of the *Rat* was a "reign of terror." He was an ignorant man, and apparently led by the priest, and the latter knew how to use such a tool. The chiefs were all at Lifu. The commandant by his proceedings at Mare, and his conduct to Naisilin at Lifu, had taught the natives a lesson which it was not difficult to comprehend; the priest saw his opportunity and embraced it. If numbers are an evidence of success, then the priests were successful; for many who had declared themselves Protestants (and were still Protestants at heart, as the sequel proves) took the medal. The commandant's name was used freely in these efforts to proselytise, and M. Rat was always ready to give efficacy to the admonitions of the "holy father."

Teachers were imprisoned* and impeded in their work; while the Protestant natives were made to feel the rigour of his rule in a variety of ways. Not only were many of them tied up, they knew not why, but the following cases appeared to indicate a disposition to drive the natives to open rebellion.

One of the Protestant chiefs (the chief of the tribe that Naisilin saved), while at Lifu, wrote to his tribe telling them to give the Guahmaïtes a lot of yams from their plantations, lest they should be suffering from want, having lately had to feed so many of the heathen. A day was fixed upon which all the Guahma people were invited to meet Wanakam's tribe at their plantations. All went, and remained there several days feasting on the yams, and digging others to bring away with them. The corporal heard of their being in the neighbourhood, and probably through the exaggeration of the priest and his followers, construed their presence into a declaration of war, although when he arrived he must have seen that it was impossible that such were their intentions, as all their women and even little girls were with them. However, he made his appearance with his soldiers just as the people were preparing to leave, ordered the Guahma people away, and told Wanakam's tribe to take all the yams to the "Titi"—the Roman Catholic tribe!

At the same time and place an old man of Guahma

* For instance, one teacher was a prisoner for ten days with his legs fastened *crosswise*, and one of the nights, in addition to his legs being fastened, his hands were tied behind his back with a cord!

was made prisoner without any reason being assigned. Upon another man asking the cause, the corporal savagely replied by thrusting his bayonet into the poor man's side immediately below the ribs on the right side. The poor fellow fell, lost a great quantity of blood, and was carried away by his friends. The wonder is, that the people did not there and then despatch all the soldiers. It must have been a great effort on their part to restrain their rage. They knew that their chiefs were hostages at Lifu, hence their forbearance. The soldiers sent for all the Papists, and carried away the yams.

On another occasion, the inhabitants of Wabawo were attacked by a heathen tribe, under the direction of Corporal Rat, while they were in church quietly engaged in the morning service. Of course they were quite unprepared for such a surprise. The enemy came armed with clubs and spears, both of which were freely used. Nine were made prisoners and taken away to be incarcerated, amongst whom was the teacher of the place. The reason assigned for this attack was, that the people had not regarded the division, which the commandant had unjustly made, of their lands—a cruel and arbitrary division. They had dared to take the produce of their own plantations. What were they to eat? Had they been allowed to take the produce of their land for that year, it would not have been so bad. Theirs was certainly a hard case. Had the corporal gone with the soldiers, the people would have submitted more readily. It was a very hazardous step to employ the former

enemies of the people to make this attack. Had he intended to excite the people to take up arms, he could scarcely have chosen a better plan. If any one had been killed, the Rat would certainly have been responsible. There was a fight at the place, the heathen using clubs and spears, and the Wabawo natives throwing stones—the only weapons they had. Had the people not been prevented by the teacher, they would have got their arms, and there would have been a regular battle.

What were the natives to do? They were in a bad case, and who was to undertake for them. They sent over to Lifu to inform the commandant of the proceedings of Corporal Rat; but, of course, no notice was taken of their complaints. They knew that it would be useless to resist; they could not contend with French soldiers whose name was legion. Mr Creagh had written on their behalf to the governor; but their only hope was from above. He who heard the groanings of the children of Israel in Egypt, and witnessed their sufferings, and delivered them, would, they hoped, vindicate the cause of the poor and distressed on Mare. The prospect was certainly not very bright. When the natives considered what the administration at Lifu had been, and what the authorities had permitted at Uvea, they had no reason to expect any change for the better at Mare. A commission of inquiry, however, had been to those islands, and however anxious the governor might be to destroy “English influence,” he doubtless felt that he could not, dare not, permit the continuation of such severity, injustice, and misrepresentation.

The answer to the commandant's report was the appointment of a commission, consisting of two judges, a lawyer, and an interpreter, to investigate into the events giving rise to and connected with the late war at Mare. The commandant did not conceal from the commission, from which he was this time excluded, his disappointment and chagrin at their arrival. It was impossible for him not to perceive that the governor had not confidence in his reports, and that there was a probability of all that he had done at Mare being changed, and himself dishonoured. Happily, the days of his lawless tyranny in the Loyalty group were numbered. The answer to the report of the Imperial Commission was on its way from Paris, which, with his disgraceful proceedings at Mare, led to his return to France, just after war had been declared against Germany; where he doubtless found that the natives of Germany were more difficult to imprison and subdue than those of the Loyalty group.

Naisilin and the Protestants were delighted to hear that another investigation was to be made into the Mare affair. Instead of being taken to Noumea, and to the guillotine, as the soldiers told him he would be, he and all his party, including his son, returned to Mare with the commission. These gentlemen made a searching inquiry into the cause of the war, and completely exonerated Naisilin. The principal Roman Catholic chief, upon whom the others threw the blame of originating the war, ultimately declared to the commission that he had been instigated by the priest. This, however, could not be *proved*, and the priest of course denied it;

but the value of his denial may be estimated from the fact (which I have upon the most reliable authority) that before the commission terminated their investigations, they openly charged him with *wilful lies*, and left his residence in disgust! The commission went thoroughly into the history of Mare. One of their number told me afterwards that he understood the history of Mare better than that of his own country. The land taken by the commandant from the Protestants was restored, and justice was dispensed to all.

This was the true way to gain the esteem of the natives. The commandant, in a letter to Mr Creagh, complained that the people made no secret of their hatred towards the French. What else could he expect, considering his treatment of them? Had he, like the commission, made an honest investigation into their grievances, and shown them that he was anxious to do what was right and just, they would have appreciated his efforts, and obeyed him willingly. Imperiousness, severity, injustice, and partiality, do not beget love; it is a tender plant, and requires a much different soil. The commandant was sent to the Loyalty group to Frenchify the natives, yet he acted as if he had been sent to cause them to hate the French. He only made hypocrites, whilst the commission made true converts. The latter were Liberals, and civilians; the former was a Conservative, and an overbearing Imperialist. Whatever the natives may think of French *soldiers*, they have a very exalted opinion of the impartiality and justice of French *lawyers*. They saw, and thoroughly appreciated, the

efforts of the commission to arrive at the truth, and witnessed afterwards the effects of their decisions.

Before the commission left Mare, Mr Creagh was called to hear some of the charges brought against him by the priest, such as the following: That he had been preaching that the end of all things was to take place in 1869, and urging Naisilin to subdue the heathen and the Papists, that they might become Protestants before the end! That a plot had been formed by the Guahma people to send the priests away in one of the "slave vessels," that from the time of the war until the arrival of the commandant, they (the priests) were watched by a "zealous Protestant," whose visits ceased after that period. They were to be taken away, the priest said, by one of the captains, and when fairly out at sea, they were, he supposed, to be "pitched overboard"! No vessel arrived, hence the plot was not executed. The inference was that Mr Creagh was the author. That Mr Creagh had manifested a stoical indifference to human misery when the conquered tribes were assembled at Guahma; that he made a speech to the captives in which he told them he had nothing to give them but an ox, and that the natives blushed for shame! (Rather an unusual thing for natives to do, especially from such a cause.) That Mr Creagh taught his teachers the use of the musket, &c. The commission attached no importance to these foolish statements, many of which, they said, had been refuted by the priest's own party. It was *their* evidence, indeed, that was most damaging to the priests.

The lieutenant at Lifu (an educated man) was appointed, with a few additional soldiers, to take command at Mare, in place of the ignorant corporal, who, we heard, lost his stripes, on account of his misrule at Mare, and became simply a Rat! The place chosen for the military post was a village about five miles from Mr Creagh's station, there being pretty good anchorage for vessels there. Upon the arrival of the lieutenant, who accompanied the Commission, it was noised abroad among the priest's party that a man-of-war had come with soldiers to help *them*. They immediately left their homes to join the soldiers, and on their way to the camp commenced their work of destruction, by destroying the plantations of the Protestants in their way. Judge of their surprise when they discovered what kind of soldiers had arrived. The Commission and the lieutenant visited the plantations that had been destroyed, and afterwards imprisoned the chief of the party.

The proceedings of the Commission opened the eyes of the heathen; they began to doubt the veracity of the priests, and to abandon the idea of soldiers coming to help *them*. They had been told that Naisilin would be punished, and would probably never again return to Mare; instead of which he was not only exonerated, but frequently asked to dine with the lieutenant. Those who had formerly declared themselves Protestants, returned. The heathen were talking about following their example, and even the Roman Catholic tribe were *shaky*. It was evident to the priests that there was little hope of their

making many converts at Mare, and that the prospect was daily darkening. What were they to do? How were they to get these rebels into the "mother Church?" This was doubtless, to them, a serious question, and stratagem came to their relief. The new Governor arrived with instructions respecting the Loyalty group, and announced his intention to withdraw the soldiers, hoping that the Protestant ministers and Roman Catholic priests would endeavour to maintain tranquillity in the group. The priests at Mare managed to excite the fears of those who had been engaged in the late war, by circulating a report that Naisilin would massacre the whole of them after the soldiers left. They wrote to the governor informing him of the *evil intentions* of the Protestants, imploring him not to take the soldiers away, or remove them (the priests) and their poor sheep to the Isle of Pines, where all the natives are Roman Catholics. A government vessel was sent across, and the priests succeeded in getting over *nine hundred* men, women, and children to leave the island by this stratagem. The poor deluded creatures are still at the Isle of Pines, pining for their homes, no doubt, but having no opportunity of returning. Very likely when their education is completed, they will be allowed to return to Mare to propagate the faith amongst their countrymen. Thus the priests left Mare. Their game there was soon played out; or, which is perhaps nearer the mark, we may regard the removing of the natives simply as a move in the game, which is to be played out

at some future time. Those Jesuits are as deep as the sea, and like that element are sometimes smooth and placid, whilst at others they are wild and destructive. Since their departure from Mare the natives have lived in peace and unity.

XXVI.

RESULT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—THE COMMANDANT RECALLED—THE NEW GOVERNOR—CAPTAIN VOLLET'S VISIT TO THE GROUP—OPENING OF THE NEW CHURCH—CAPTAIN VOLLET'S SPEECH—EVENING PARTY—OPENING SERVICES—DEPARTURE OF THE SOLDIERS—THE OCCUPATION OF THE LOYALTY GROUP A MISTAKE—EFFECT OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE SOLDIERS UPON THE ROMAN CATHOLICS—THE PAPISTS CONFOUNDED AND ASHAMED—USEFUL LESSONS LEARNT FROM THE FRENCH—PROGRESS OF THE NATIVES—BOOKS TRANSLATED—NATIVE AGENCY; ITS EFFICIENCY—A YOUNG MISSIONARY APT TO MAKE MISTAKES—NATIVE AGENCY MORE EASILY OBTAINED, AND MORE ECONOMICAL—DIFFICULTY OF GETTING AT THE HEATHEN—POETICAL IDEAS OF MISSIONARY WORK—MISTAKEN MODE OF PROCEDURE—WHAT IS REQUIRED FOR THE EVANGELISATION OF THE ISLANDS—WHAT A MISSIONARY SHOULD BE—MISSIONARIES SHOULD ONLY DO WHAT NATIVES CAN'T DO—AN EDUCATED NATIVE MINISTRY THE WANT OF THE SOUTH SEA MISSION—A COLLEGE FOR THE SOCIETY'S SOUTH SEA MISSIONS—OBJECTIONS.

THE decision at which the Government arrived from the report of the Imperial Commission of Inquiry that visited Lifu and Uvea, was not communicated to us, nor in any way made public, but it is not difficult to form a pretty correct idea of what that decision was from the reformation that took place about six months after the report had been sent to France. There had been political despotism in New Caledonia, and religious despotism in the Loyalty group, the latter especially on Uvea. The governor was recalled, as were the priests; but it was easier to find in France a suitable successor to the

former, than to obtain, from amongst the priests on New Caledonia, pious, peaceful, and liberal-minded men to succeed the latter. The Imperial Government could *select*, but the Bishop of New Caledonia had but few to choose from, and those few were men of one mind; he could only make an exchange, and one that has not proved of much benefit to the colony, as the following extract from a letter of Mr Ella's will prove. It appeared in the *English Independent* on the 13th of last month (February 1873):—

At the close of 1871, I was compelled to leave Uvea through severe indisposition. Another missionary was expected to supply my place during my absence; but his arrival was unavoidably delayed. In the interval, taking advantage of the absence of the English missionary, a barbarous attempt was made to massacre the Protestants of the principal district, or to coerce them to yield to the demands of the Papists, and abandon their religion. The Papists were assembled from all parts of the island last April, under the pretence of attending a saint's festival. Suddenly, at night, they fell upon the Protestant settlement near the house of the priest. Four men were murdered whilst engaged in their evening prayers, four more were killed whilst fishing, and several others were killed and wounded the next day, while attempting to defend their homes. The Protestants then fled to the bush for shelter. They were surrounded there, and threatened to be exterminated unless they yielded and became Papists. Their villages were burned and their plantations and stock of provisions destroyed. In two other villages the men were dragged out of their houses by the Papists; tomahawks, clubs, and spears were brandished over their heads, and they were threatened with instant death if they did not give up their religion and their books, and unite in the worship of the Virgin.

Mr Sleigh, one of the missionaries on the neighbouring island of Lifu, reached Uvea ten days after these sad events, and exerted himself to deliver the persecuted natives out of the hands of their oppressors. The Papist chief would not permit the missionary to see the refugees, and forbade Protestant worship in the district. Mr Sleigh wrote immediately to the Governor of New Caledonia, detailing the events, and requesting the exercise of his authority to

restore religious liberty. His letter, and a lengthy statement from one of the Romish priests on Uvea to his superior on New Caledonia, were published in the *Moniteur de la Nouvelle Calédonie*, a government organ. In the latter, vague reasons for the massacre were assigned, utterly at variance with the facts of the case. It was also stated in the same paper that a tribunal had been appointed to inquire into the massacre. Up to the end of October, six months after these horrid proceedings, nothing had been done by the Government in the matter, and the "Tribunal" exists only on paper. Thus left at liberty to carry out their designs, the Romish priests and their blind tools were encouraged and strengthened in their proceedings, and the persecuted Protestants were being forced into the Romish Church. Seven hundred had yielded, and their books were seized and delivered to the priests. From their place of refuge, some of the poor people wrote in May, that starvation stared them in the face on the one hand, and on the other, threats of extermination, unless they became Romanists. Well might they cry, "Help, Lord, for vain is the help of man."

At the close of August the missionary expected arrived, and he has taken up his abode on Uvea, to watch over the shattered Protestant church. His last communication was dated the 29th of October. No inquiry had then been made by the Government, and the Popish party were still pursuing their determined policy to overthrow the Protestant mission. A message was sent that month to the Protestant chief, requiring him to abandon his religion, and bring over his people to the "Catholic church." On his refusing, he was commanded to resign his chieftainship to a Papist, and his life was threatened. The Papists were again making active preparations to attack the two remaining Protestant districts. The missionaries sought to deliver the Protestants, and, as the only resource left, recommended emigration to the island of Lifu. The persecuted people gladly consented to abandon their homes and lands that they might retain "liberty to worship God," but the Romish chief prevented this step. The directors of our society are prepared to bring the case of the Uvean mission before Her Majesty's Government, and we hope that, in response, a more earnest effort will be made by the present French Government to stop these persecutions than that attempted four years since; and that religious liberty will be secured for those distant lands under French rule.

The officer who was appointed to exercise the func-

tions of governor until the arrival of M. Guillain's successor, recalled the commandant from Lifu and sent us, in his stead, a civilian, one of the members of the Commission of Inquiry, a married man, and a thorough Republican. This gentleman commenced his work in the right way—by treating the natives *kindly*. Had he been the first commandant of the Loyalty group, instead of the fifth, it might have saved the natives from suffering, and the French from disgrace.

After M. Guillain arrived in Paris, M. de la Richerie was appointed his successor. This gentleman had formerly been governor at Tahite, and had shown some kindness to the R^{év}. Mr Howe, the English missionary there. Upon his arrival in New Caledonia, he commissioned Captain Vollet, of the *Gazelle*, to visit the Loyalty group, and be the bearer of a circular to the English missionaries and French priests, in which he intimated his intention, as early as convenient, to remove the soldiers from the group, and expressed a hope that the missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, would exert themselves to promote peace and harmony among the natives.

Captain Vollet, a Protestant, arrived just as we were about to open our new church, which the soldiers had assisted the natives to build in lieu of the one taken by them upon their arrival. Former commandants had delayed the completion of this building, and withheld it, notwithstanding my efforts to get it out of their hands, finished or unfinished. The new commandant decided to hand it over to the Protestants at once, leav-

ing us to fit up the interior when and how we pleased. The necessary preparations were made, and a day appointed for the ceremony. Several thousand natives assembled from every part of the island, who were sumptuously provided for by those of the village where the church is erected. The opening services commenced on a Friday morning, at eleven o'clock. The chair was occupied by Captain Vollet (delegate of the governor). On the platform were, A. Le Baucher, Esq., Commandant of the Loyalty Islands; Lieutenant Chapelet, late Commandant of the military post at Mare; Dr Marie; Captain Bordereaux, appointed resident judge in the Loyalty group, to succeed M. Le Boucher; the Revs. S. M. Creagh, J. Sleigh, J. Whitmee, and myself. After singing a hymn, reading the Scriptures, and prayer, Captain Vollet rose and formally handed over the church to the Protestants of Lifu. His speech, as well as that of the commandant, was most encouraging to the Protestants. He congratulated them upon their progress in civilisation, and the acquisition of so beautiful a church, and stated, in most unequivocal terms, that perfect liberty of worship was granted by the government. He commended them for their peaceful and obedient conduct during his residence on Lifu, and both recognised, in flattering terms, the success of our efforts to instruct and improve the natives. We had an evening party in the schoolroom, which was tastefully decorated with foliage and flowers, to which we invited the French gentlemen, also Mesdames Le Boucher, Marie, and Casey. All appeared delighted, and Captain Vollet again, in a

short speech, expressed his gratification and agreeable surprise at the proofs he had that day witnessed of the progress of civilisation on Lifu, and asked the natives what they would have been had not missionaries and their wives come to live amongst them. Mr Whitmee gave an interesting account of a heathen island that he had witnessed, and some of the natives made very good speeches. On Saturday afternoon, there was a general prayer-meeting, and address by Mr Sleigh, and, on the Sabbath, we commenced our regular services. I preached in the morning, from John iv. 24: "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in Spirit and in truth." In the afternoon, we had a united communion, at which about a thousand church members were present. It was a grand sight, remembering what these people were a short time ago. In the evening, each of the missionaries gave a short and suitable address, and thus ended a series of most interesting services, the benefit of which, let us hope, will long be felt. The new church is a plain, substantial building, 120 feet by 60, with Gothic windows, and a kind of semi-Grecian front. Having been built by professional men amongst the soldiers, it is, of course, a much superior edifice to the generality of churches in the South Seas.

A few days after the opening of the new church the *Gazelle* left, taking away officers, soldiers, and all that pertained to the military post, leaving only M. Bordereaux, "Resident," and his servant. When they came to the island they seized and appropriated the old church: when they left it, they gave us the new one.

Upon their arrival they charged us with denationalising the natives; upon their departure they commended us for our successful efforts to civilise and elevate them. What had *they* accomplished? What was the result of their six years' occupation of the group? Had they succeeded in destroying English influence, and Frenchifying the natives? It could not but be evident, even to them, that their mission to the Loyalty group was a mistake and a failure. The natives were no longer taxed or interfered with in any way by the "Resident." The Government school was broken up, and the Government buildings were left to go to ruin—a monument of French oppression. Our schools were quietly resumed, and the half-built chapels completed, and our work carried on much as if the French had never been there. The soldiers were removed from the Loyalty group soon after the news arrived of the defeat and imprisonment of *Napoléon III.*, they *may* be located there again when the French have recovered a little from the effects of their intended march to Berlin! Going to Berlin, like destroying "English influence" in the Loyalty group, is easier to talk about than to accomplish; although, in the latter case, the obstacles may not have appeared very great. The natives were but few and defenceless, and, as they thought, easily influenced. *One blow* was considered sufficient, and that was executed with characteristic impetuosity and cruelty. But although natives were shot, schools closed, the circulation of books prohibited (except in the French language!) native teachers banished, and missionaries silenced, still the object was

far from being accomplished. Lifu "bristled with forts" as difficult to get at as those in Germany.

Whilst the Lifuans were rejoicing at the departure of the soldiers from their island home, the Italians were similarly engaged at Rome, and at both places the effect was the same—the props were removed, so the building fell. Two important chiefs and a number of their people abandoned the priests and became Protestants; one of these was the great chief Zeula, in whose district one of the priests resided. Most of his subjects were already Protestants, and to their influence the priest attributed the change in the chief's views. This "holy father" stormed and threatened in vain; he went to the "Resident," but was told that he had no authority to interfere in such matters, and doubtless returned disgusted with such indifference on the part of the civil power. As there appeared to be some probability that Zeula's Catholic subjects would follow his example, the priest proposed to them to leave the island as the Roman Catholics on Mare had done; they assured him, however, that they would never comply with such a request, and told him that if he desired to leave Lifu, he must go alone.

The Papists were confounded and ashamed at the course which events had taken. They had been led to believe that the Protestant religion would be destroyed, and all the natives forced to embrace that of the State, instead of which they saw the Protestants increasing in number and influence; they saw them respected, and a church built for them, and heard them publicly com-

mended by the authorities. In addition to all this, they heard of France being humbled by a Protestant power ; of the Pope's downfall, and of the spread of Protestant principles in Spain and Italy. These things shook their confidence in the priests, and led most of them to feel, and many of them publicly to confess, that the Protestants were in the right. They looked to Ukenizo, professing to be guided by him, and he professed to be afraid to abandon the priests, having brought them to the island. Popery, however, is not likely to make much head-way at Lifu. Nearly all the Papists there are Protestants at heart.

Although the natives suffered much from the occupation of their islands by the French, they nevertheless learned a few useful lessons. Just as the Romans, during their sojourn in England, taught our forefathers how to make roads, build houses, make laws, &c., so did the French in the Loyalty group, only they went a different way about it, and so instead of making themselves (like the Romans) respected, and their departure felt to be a public loss, they led the natives to hate them, and rejoice at their leaving. The presence of a French " Resident," invested with powers from the civil court to adjust any differences that may arise amongst the natives, is a good thing for the Loyalty group. The natives and chiefs, left to themselves, might quarrel ; now they have an intelligent authority to whom they can appeal. Let us hope that this improved state of things may not be superseded by the re-establishment of military rule in the group. Under the benign influ-

ence of Christianity, and the paternal rule of the "Resident," the population will doubtless make steady progress in civilisation. Very considerable progress has already been made. In Lifu there are over two thousand church members. The majority of the Protestant population can read and write a little—the young folks, of course, are further advanced. The following books have been translated and prepared in the Lifu dialect : a school-book, a catechism, two hymn-books—containing 132 hymns—a geography, a Bible companion, and the whole of the New Testament and Psalms, the revised edition of which is now being printed in England. Improvements have been made in public roads, native dwellings, &c. Wells have been dug at almost every village. A desire for European cotton goods, cooking utensils, and tools, has been excited, and the demand has created the supply,—for which several stores are established on the island. The annual export of cotton is increasing every year,—last year it was about 20 tons, besides oil, pigs, fowls, and yams. The churches support their own teachers, and contain a band of earnest men who are anxious to proceed to heathen lands as pioneer evangelists. I will conclude my narrative of the Lifu Mission with a few words respecting the value of this kind of agency in the work of extending the gospel among the heathen in the South Seas.

Let us accord to *native agency* that prominent place which it has justly merited; indeed, in the estimation of most missionaries, it is the key to the evangelisation of those islands. Had not this kind of agency been

largely employed by the London Missionary Society, the boundary of her present extended and prosperous missions in those seas would doubtless have been exceedingly limited. I have no hesitation in stating, as an indisputable fact, in the South Sea Islands, good native teachers make better pioneer evangelists than European missionaries. The gap between the debased savage and the polished European is too great. A young missionary settling among a heathen tribe is apt to make very grave mistakes, and unintentionally to injure the cause which he desires to promote; and let him not suppose that any amount of piety, intelligence, or zeal—or all combined—will preserve him from falling into such errors. There are many things, especially in the mission field, which can only be learnt by experience. A native is, of course, better acquainted with the habits, manners, and customs of natives than we are. He can squat with them in their huts, and unfold to them at appropriate times the love of Jesus, who came to dwell among men, and suffer pain and death that we might enjoy life eternal; or go to fish with them in their canoes, and talk to them about some of the apostles being fishermen, and how that Jesus sent them to catch men; or eat with them at their ordinary meals, and tell them about the bread of life, and the future state where there will be no cooking and eating; or work with them in their plantations, and speak to them about “a sower who went forth to sow,” and the plantations (vineyard) of Jesus; so that a native teacher has more opportunities of publishing to the savage the glad tidings of

salvation than a missionary who now and then pays a formal visit to a heathen tribe.

The fact that native agency is more easily obtained than European, should be a consideration in our attempt to evangelise the numerous islands in the Pacific. Wherever we have missions established and churches formed, there are plenty of young and suitable men willing to offer themselves for this pioneer work; and moreover, native agency is much more economical. A native teacher only costs ten pounds a year; that moderate sum keeps him like a gentleman amongst his own people. So that good native teachers, for pioneer work or heathen islands, are *more efficient, more easily obtained, and more economical.*

The difficulty with a heathen and a savage people is to get *at* them. There are few natives, I presume, who embrace Christianity on account of its intrinsic value; they are generally impelled by not the most commendable motives. A fish-hook is often more effective than a sermon. Some good people in England form pleasant pictures, and have poetical ideas of missionary life in the South Seas. They see the missionary standing on the beach of a heathen island, with a black coat on his back and a Bible in hand, from which he is pointing to heaven, and by gestures endeavouring to make them acquainted with the object of his visit. Now, to my certain knowledge, a more correct picture would be a missionary standing on the beach *in dripping garments, without any coat at all*, he having taken it off to swim over the surf, and holding in his hand a few beads and

fish-hooks ; or a missionary on the beach sitting on a stone, with his shoe and stocking off, and the natives gathering round him to examine his white foot and his clothes ; or, no less a personage than a *Lord Bishop* of the "Establishment," standing on the beach, surrounded by savages, with his back to a rock, and a pair of steelyards in his hand, weighing out yams incessantly for three hours, and by fair dealing, ingratiating himself with the natives. This is how we manage to get *at* the natives, and having got their ear we preach the gospel to them. But here, again, we have to be careful, or we drive them from us. It is a great mistake to commence by attacking all that is dear to a native. He loves his feast, his night-dance, his wives, his kava, and his pipe ; and if you proceeded to consign him to hell for his attachment to these, the probability is that he will seek an opportunity of sending you to heaven with his tomahawk. Some missionaries are very apt, by their demeanour and intercourse with the natives, to make religion appear a very gloomy and undesirable thing. Now, the better way would be to represent it in its most attractive form, and show the natives that it yields the greatest amount of happiness even on earth, and by discoursing upon the magnitude of God's love, seek to interest them in the story of the Cross. When they begin to love God they will try to please Him. As with matter so with mind, it will yield more readily to attraction than impulsion ; the heathen may be *drawn*, but they won't be *driven*.

There are still hundreds of islands in the South Sea

shrouded in heathen darkness, islands of all sizes, from less than a mile to twelve hundred miles in length. The work of evangelising them must be arduous, slow, and expensive without an efficient native agency. Missionaries cannot be obtained to occupy every point, it would be wrong to attempt such a thing. All that is necessary is that a missionary be located at a certain point, surrounded by a good staff of native teachers from the older missions; that he possess a good boat and horse, with a disposition to make good use of them; he may then work a large station efficiently. But if he confines himself to one place without these helps, and happens to be one who, although he may shine brilliantly in his study, is no better than a rush-light in the village, and is only seen beyond it once or twice a year, and then flickering so indistinctly for about half-an-hour that the heathen around him remain in darkness and idolatry. A missionary on a heathen island should be more like a blazing comet than a fixed star; his orbit, the island on which he lives; his light should be brilliant and his movements rapid, or he will not succeed. We all know something of our own feebleness, and of the importance of prayer for our people; but God has taught us very distinctly that prayer and effort must be combined; the former without the latter is superstition, and the latter without the former is idolatry. We must not expect to convert the heathen by remaining in our studies praying for them, acquiring their language, and translating books. We must mingle with them, sympathise with them, and by acts of kindness and consistency endeavour to entwine

ourselves about their affections. We may then hope to do them good, and more reasonably expect that God will hear our prayers on their behalf.

“Never do yourself what a native can do” is a good maxim. The adoption of this principle would give missionaries much more time to devote to their legitimate labours, and render missions more prosperous and less expensive. There is always plenty for a missionary to do that a native *can't* do, and to such work he should turn his attention. Why should a young missionary spend his time, and ruin his constitution building houses and churches, and teaching a few natives the A B C of Christianity, whilst by settling upon an island where teachers have preceded him and opened up the way, he may train a staff of agents who will go forth and accomplish twenty times more than he could reasonably expect to do? The taking of Jericho would have been more difficult had God simply made a breach in the wall for the Israelites, but the conquest was easy and rapid because “every man went straight before him.” God is removing the walls that surround heathendom, and requires His people, in His name, to “go in and possess the land.” Let us then endeavour to encompass it. This is not a very difficult matter with reference to the South Sea Islands. Twenty teacher splanted round an island are much more likely to succeed than a missionary located at one point. In the latter case the natives at a distance have generally vague, extravagant, and unfavourable ideas of the object of his mission, and exert a pernicious influence over those with whom he resides ;

whereas, in the former, the natives throughout the island are being simultaneously instructed in the same truths, and so misapprehension and consequent opposition is not likely to take place. Pioneer teachers should be frequently visited by a missionary; they thus not only obtain advice and support, but also acquire influence amongst their people.

How are the numerous heathen islands in the South Seas to be evangelised, and the missions already established to be carried on with efficiency and economy? We answer, by an *educated native ministry*. Owing to the great disparity between the European missionary and the natives, in their savage, or even semi-civilised state, educated natives are better adapted, both for pioneer teachers and native pastors. The missionary's time is most profitably employed in training and supervising such men, and translating and preparing books for the natives. Devoted young men may be obtained from the older missions, capable of being trained to occupy responsible positions with fidelity and success. Indeed, it would often, from their social position, be a positive pleasure to these men to commence and carry on the work at stations, and under circumstances where a European missionary would not only be in greater danger, but would have to exercise an extraordinary degree of self-denial and patience.

In order to secure a higher type of education amongst the native pastors, and increase their influence and usefulness, the more intelligent of the students should be

taught the English language ; also removed, during the term of their education, from their homes and native influences, and placed near civilised life. The time has come for the establishment of a *college* for the Society's South Sea missions, where the cleverest of the young men in the various institutions might receive a superior education, qualifying them for ordination as native pastors and missionaries. A tropical part of Queensland, where island food can be produced, appears to be the most suitable locality for such an establishment. Several important ends would be accomplished by having a *South Sea Mission College* there. The future operations of the Society amongst the heathen in the South Seas will, undoubtedly, be on New Guinea and the numerous islands in its vicinity ; for this extensive, important, and deeply interesting mission, it will be necessary to have, in some healthy and convenient locality, a school and sanatorium. Such an establishment connected with the college for the older missions, near civilised life, would have many advantages, and would be highly calculated to secure the objects in view. Natives from the New Guinea mission would see what Christianity had done for their black brethren on other islands, and all would participate in the civilising and elevating effects of their proximity to civilised life. Great good might also be done to the South Sea islanders who are working in Queensland. There is a probability that the colonists there, like those of New Caledonia, will continue to seek and obtain (to some extent) South Sea Island labour.

Under these circumstances, it would be well to have a missionary in Queensland, to whom the natives, heathen as well as Christian—might look as their friend and guide. The gospel might thus be introduced by natives themselves, to some islands where missionaries cannot gain admittance; so that such an establishment in such a locality would be a college for the older missions, which would send forth a superior class of native pastors, rendering fewer European missionaries necessary. It would be school and sanatorium for the New Guinea missions, and also a centre of light for the South Sea islanders in Queensland. Thus the efficiency, economy, and stability of our South Sea missions would be promoted.

But it is objected that the native teachers, if thus trained and ordained, would be too conceited, and that the unordained would not recognise their superiority. Surely it is not education, but the want of it that makes them conceited. If, after spending four or five years in a college near civilised life, their less talented brethren could not, or would not (upon their return), recognise their superiority, that would only prove *their* ignorance and conceit. It is said again that such an institution should not be near civilised life; that the influence of the white population in Queensland would be very baneful upon the natives. Surely it is desirable that they should see other specimens of European civilisation than those that settle among them on the islands. Let them see what Christianity has done for us, what it is doing for some, and what the want of it is doing for others.

There is no unmixed good here. They will undoubtedly learn much that it would be better for them not to know, but the advantages to be derived from such a course appear greatly to preponderate. They will find that all whitemen are not devils; and white men will find that all Christian natives are not saints.

XXVII.

EXTENSION OF THE MISSION CONSIDERED—DECISION OF THE DIRECTORS—SEEKING INFORMATION ABOUT NEW GUINEA—DARNLEY ISLAND—THE “JOHN KNOX”—SYMPATHY AND SELF-SACRIFICE OF THE NATIVES FOR THE NEW GUINEA MISSION—PROSPECT OF LOSING THEIR MISSIONARY—ARRIVAL OF MR MURRAY FROM SAMOA—ENLARGEMENT OF THE PLANS—WRECK OF THE “EMMA PATERSON”—THE SCHOONER “SURPRISE”—VALEDICTORY SERVICES—NATIVE ORATORY—EKOT’S SPEECH—THE CONTRAST—RETURN VOYAGE—THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO NEW GUINEA AN IMPORTANT EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY—SHOULD LOOK THE DIFFICULTIES FAIRLY IN THE FACE—DIFFICULTY IN GETTING AT THE NATIVES—DANGEROUS NAVIGATION—SICKLY CLIMATE—SAVAGE PEOPLE—NUMEROUS SMALL TRIBES—MUST ADOPT A NEW PLAN—A SMALL MISSION INDISPENSABLE—DECISION OF THE DIRECTORS ABOUT THE KIND OF VESSEL—HOW WE SHOULD COMMENCE—CAPE YORK.

BEING at the western extremity of our South Sea mission, with material at hand for preparing a good native agency, the subject of occupying new ground was seriously and frequently discussed. The question was, in what direction to extend. To the north are the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, where the Presbyterians and Episcopalians are at work with two mission vessels and a good staff of missionaries. To the south is the large island of New Caledonia, which, from its proximity, would be a fine field for native teachers from the Loyalty group, but the French will not allow us to establish a mission there. So we turned our eyes west-

ward, feeling that the time had arrived to commence the evangelisation of New Guinea. As the London Missionary Society has in the South Seas a large native agency composed of both the Papuan and Malay races (the two races that inhabit New Guinea), and as it is the only mission which has no adequate outlet for its pioneers, it appears evident that it is called upon to undertake this great work.

It was our intention to commence the mission with the Samoan and Raratongan teachers ejected by the French from the Loyalty group when they took possession of those islands in 1864, but difficulties arose which led us to abandon for a time the project. In 1867 the whole question was deliberately and prayerfully discussed at our annual committee meeting, and as Mr Jones was about to proceed to England to edit the *Mare New Testament*, he was deputed to bring the subject before the directors of our society, the result of which was that I received a letter from the Foreign Secretary, stating that the directors were contemplating and maturing plans for the establishment of a mission on New Guinea, and desired me to consider that field as my future sphere of missionary labour, requesting me in the meantime to obtain all the information possible that might be of any use.

At once we began to look to New Guinea as our future home, and to seek from whalers, and those engaged in the trepang and pearl shell-fisheries, information about the island and its inhabitants. Their statements, however, were so contradictory that nothing appeared reliable

but the reports of the various expeditions that have surveyed the coast, and these generally represent the natives as a fierce and treacherous race, with whom they appear seldom to have had friendly intercourse, and on whose shores they never appear to have landed. Under these circumstances we thought that it would be desirable to begin so extensive a mission by making a prospective voyage, and so personally obtaining such information as would enable the directors to form definite plans for entering at once upon this noble enterprise with as much safety and as little expense as possible. Accordingly, at our annual meeting in 1870, I was appointed by the brethren to make a prospective voyage to New Guinea before proceeding to England, so that upon my arrival in the old country I might be in a position to lay before the directors such information as would enable them to mature their plans.

From all that we could learn, it appeared that Darnley Island would be a very suitable place on which to commence our mission. It has a central position in Torres Straits, and is frequently visited by natives from New Guinea. We had been recommended to this island by several captains who were well acquainted with Torres Straits; and finding that the master and owner of the *John Knox* had resided on the island for several months, and ingratiated himself with the natives, and that he was disposed to return and establish a pearl-shell fishing station on the island, I arranged to accompany him with two Lifu teachers and their wives to be left on the island, that the natives

might become acquainted with their benevolent object during my absence in England.

The *John Knox* is a fine little cutter about eleven tons burden. She was built for our Presbyterian brethren of the New Hebrides mission, and rendered them good service until superseded by the *Day Spring*, a much larger vessel being required for their extended and growing mission. Being a good sea-boat, there was no danger at that time of the year, although there would be a little discomfort in making a voyage in her of sixteen hundred miles. In Torres Straits, and about the coast of New Guinea, the *John Knox* would even be safer than a vessel of 100 tons, on account of the reefs, shoals, and mud-banks, many of which are not marked on any chart, and some parts of the coast being yet unsurveyed. Our plan was to go direct from Lifu to Darnley Island; make arrangements for the location of the teachers; visit some of the small islands near the coast of New Guinea, and in Torres Straits, in order to be able to fix upon the most suitable place for the headquarters of the mission, and then the *John Knox* was to beat up the coast of Australia, inside the great barrier-reef to Cleveland Bay, where I could get a steamer to Sydney. The whole expedition would only have cost about £50.

The natives became very much interested in our contemplated mission to New Guinea, and many of them were anxious to become pioneer teachers, but were prevented from leaving the group by a law made by the late governor. In order to obtain permission for the two

that we intended taking with us, I went to New Caledonia and had an interview with the newly-arrived governor, M. de la Richerie, who expressed his interest in missionary work, and his sorrow that natives should have been prohibited from leaving the Loyalty group to engage in such an enterprise, stating that they were at perfect liberty to go where they liked in future. There was great joy throughout the islands in the group when this welcome news was received. The twenty-four young men in the Institution under my care volunteered for the work. All the native teachers became anxious to leave their stations and go to New Guinea. Many young men came forward from the different villages as candidates for the seminary, with a view to preparing themselves for pioneering work on this interesting island. All was excitement and enthusiasm. New Guinea, or rather "Papua," became the subject of conversation, sermons, addresses, and prayers. The two selected to accompany me in the *John Knox* were envied, lectured, and feasted wherever they went.

Although the Lifuans were highly delighted at the prospect of a mission being established on New Guinea, and the prominent part they were likely to take in it, yet they were very unwilling to give up their missionary for this new field. Some were even rebellious, and determined to keep us by force. This was perfectly natural. We had been with them for more than thirteen years, and were, as they said, their "first love." We had carried on a successful paper war with the French for their religious liberty. The children around us had

grown up into young men and young women, and felt that they were losing their "parents." The thought of leaving them was to us a great trial and sacrifice. It was like beginning missionary work again. We had gone to Lifu and settled amongst the natives when they were ignorant, degraded, and dirty. We had cleared the bush and built a dwelling-house, also a stone chapel and school room, and were looking forward to years of usefulness and happiness amidst our peaceful and growingly intelligent people. The prospect of going through the whole thing again contains no poetry for us—we know it all. 'Tis clearly a question of duty. So important and dangerous a mission as that to the savage treacherous tribes of New Guinea must be commenced by men of some experience, so that two or three missionaries should leave their stations to be filled by others. Having been requested by the directors of our society to form one of the number to be appointed to the New Guinea mission, I readily consented, feeling that pioneering is really the truest and noblest missionary work. The natives gradually became reconciled to our leaving. My excellent brother, Mr Creagh of Mare, was appointed to my station, so that the Lifu natives were rather gainers than losers by the change.

Before we started on our interesting voyage, the Rev. A. W. Murray, of the Samoan mission, arrived at Lifu, seeking a change of climate on account of Mrs Murray's health. Being a missionary of great experience in locating pioneer teachers, and not liking to take the whole responsibility of so important a voyage upon my-

self, I desired him to accompany me, and was pleased to find that he readily consented. This led to the enlargement of our plans. We decided upon taking more teachers, engaging a larger vessel, and commencing, if possible, the mission on the mainland at once. A meeting was called, at which we obtained the sanction of the brethren. I proceeded to New Caledonia to procure a suitable vessel. The *Emma Paterson*, a schooner of sixty tons, was chartered, but unfortunately was wrecked on the coast of New Caledonia on her way to the Loyalty group. The crew abandoned her, leaving the captain alone on the wreck, and taking with them a good supply of provisions and *spirits*, declared their intention of going to the newly-discovered gold-field at the north end of New Caledonia. They have not been seen since. A boat was found on the coast about ten days after they had left the wreck, which was half full of water, containing a human hand and foot, which is supposed to be the remnant of the crew of the *Emma Paterson*.

We had been daily and anxiously looking and longing for her arrival. Eight pioneer evangelists had been selected from the numerous volunteers—four tried teachers and four students from the seminary; their supplies were prepared and packed; the valedictory services had been held; good-bye had been said to friends at a distance; and all was ready for a start, when the startling intelligence reached us that our vessel was on a reef at New Caledonia. Happily the *Surprise*, a vessel of ninety tons, was then at Lifu, and open to

charter. The captain had been several times to Torres Straits on fishing expeditions, and so was well acquainted with the place, hence he was the very man we wanted for the intricate navigation of those parts. We engaged the vessel, but could not leave at once, as the captain had to call at the New Hebrides; he promised to return in three weeks and commence the New Guinea voyage.

Some account of the valedictory services may be interesting to the reader, showing the kind of addresses delivered by the natives, some of which are exceedingly appropriate, pointed, and powerful. Special meetings were held at the native villages of the teachers set apart for the new mission, where the friends of each gave them parting gifts and counsel. Then came the united valedictory service at Chepenehe, at which natives from almost every part of the island were present. It was a very interesting and memorable meeting. Atea—the oldest native teacher, and one of the first to embrace Christianity on Lifu—was appointed to address his brethren about to leave for New Guinea, on behalf of the teachers; and Ekot—the senior student—on behalf of the students. The former spoke earnestly, feelingly, and wisely, reminding them of the difficulties, dangers, and discouragements which they would probably have to encounter; but called to their minds the triumphs of the gospel amongst themselves, and urged them to believing prayer and persevering effort. He was a native orator, and so became very excited in public speaking. On this occasion, I remember, he was unusually eloquent. He expressed his desire to become

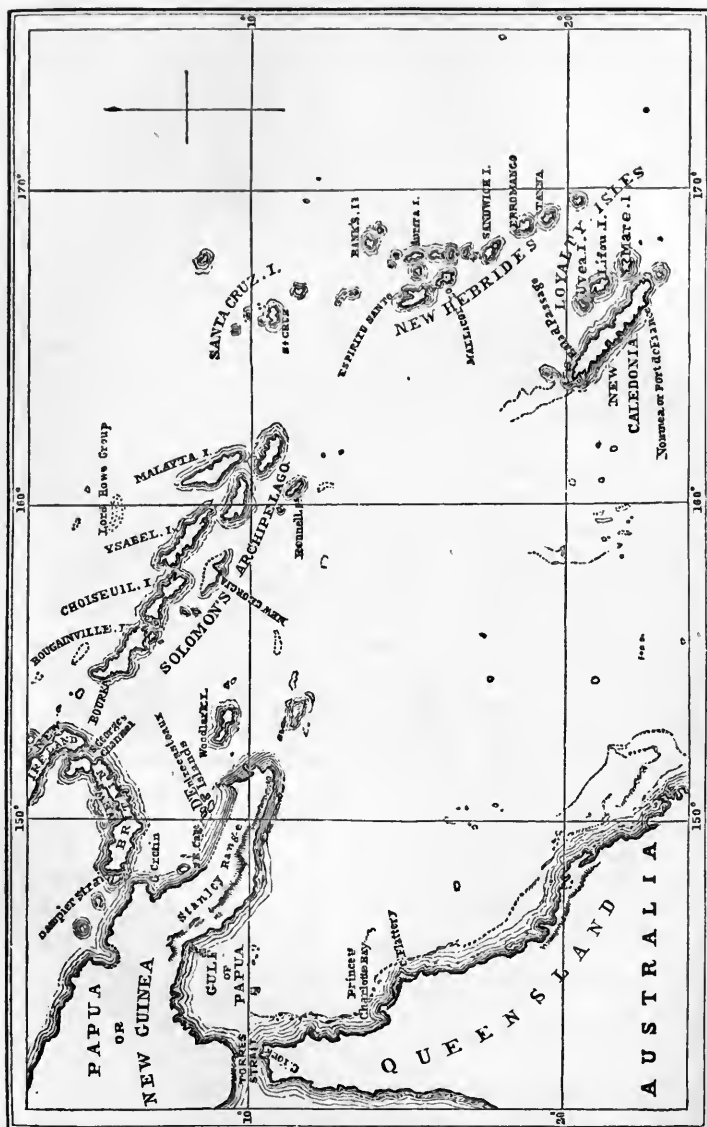
a pioneer teacher himself; said that his will was strong and his mind young, "but," and here he stretched out his withered arm, "my body" he said tremblingly, "is old. I have nearly finished my course; you young men must do the work, and we will assist you by our prayers."

Ekot's address, although not delivered with so much energy, was equally powerful. He called their attention to whaling, with which the natives are familiar, as it takes place annually at the bay in which Chepenehe is situated. He reminded them how much depended upon the *first* boat; the skill, and strength, and courage requisite for harpooning; the importance and difficulty of "fastening" well; and the consequences of mistake or mismanagement. He drew a vivid picture of a securely-harpooned whale towing the boat round the bay; the blowing and struggling to get loose; the boat ploughing through the sea, with the water rising above the gunwale; the flying spray; the other boats in pursuit; the spearing; and the cloud of blood, showing that the whale has been mortally wounded. Then the arrival of the other boats one after another, which are fastened together, and assist in towing the whale to the ship. The natives were intensely interested; it was a life picture of that with which they were all familiar, and there was profound silence when the speaker paused, turned towards the pioneer teachers, and said solemnly, "You are going to New Guinea. You are the *first* boat. Take care to 'fasten' well. We shall follow you, and hope to assist in killing and towing in. But mark! the consequences of any mismanagement on your part

may be very serious. You may only wound and irritate the whale, and drive it away; it may not return for another year, perhaps never." He then explained what he meant by "fastening" and mismanagement, and exhorted them to be consistent, devoted, faithful, and prayerful teachers, that God might guide, protect, and bless them in their work.

The eight teachers to be consecrated to foreign missionary work, the crowded and well-dressed assembly, the spacious and substantial stone church, the animated speakers, and the attentive hearers presented a thrilling scene. Not many years before, they had worshipped in a house near the one in which they were assembled, made of poles, strings, and grass; they had but few articles of European clothing amongst them, and were a sad, yet interesting, and in some respects very ludicrous sight. Now they were met together to send forth missionaries from among their own race to other and distant heathen lands. What but the gospel could have produced such an astonishing change in thirteen years?

In due time the *Surprise* returned from the New Hebrides, and we started upon our interesting voyage to New Guinea, followed by the prayers and sympathies of the community, and especially of the dear ones left at home. The following is an abstract of the account of our voyage which we sent to the Directors of the London Missionary Society:—



JOURNAL OF A MISSIONARY VOYAGE

TO

NEW GUINEA.

UNDER arrangements sanctioned by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, towards the close of 1870 the missionaries in the Loyalty Islands commenced preparations for the commencement of a mission in New Guinea. In that mission both the Directors and the missionaries took the deepest interest. But it was felt on every hand that the scheme was one of unusual importance: that it might possibly be attended with great danger; that once begun it ought to be carried through; and that if successfully established, it might, under God's blessing, become eventually the largest mission carried on by the Society in the Pacific. Eight native evangelists were selected with care from among our teachers, four from Mare and four from Lifu. A suitable vessel, the *Surprise*, commanded by a most competent man, Captain Paget, was engaged for the voyage. In a farewell meeting, held in Lifu on Sunday, April 23rd, the evangelists and their expedition were specially commended to the care of God by their native brethren; and on Tuesday the 30th, the little party, which included the wives of the teachers and four children, embarked and set sail on our long and fondly-anticipated voyage. The good hand of God had plainly been upon us in all the preparations we had made; our way had been made clear; we joyfully set forth in His work, trusting to His guidance and care; and it will be seen that our expectations were abundantly realised.

We caught the first glimpse of New Guinea on Thursday the 29th of June. A thick haze hung over the land, so that

for some time only the mountain tops were visible. We gazed with intense interest as we neared the great land, one object after another appearing, till we found ourselves in view of the barrier reef, about two miles from the shore. We made the land near Keppel Point, in latitude $10^{\circ} 11' S.$ and longitude $148^{\circ} E.$, and ran along the coast all the way to Hood Point, keeping as close into the reef as we could with safety. We saw a number of natives fishing, some in canoes, and others on the reef, as we passed along.

Hood's Bay and the Point which forms its western extremity have a very striking and interesting appearance. The bay is about six miles wide and four deep. At the east point there is a lagoon, a remarkable-looking place, called Hood's Lagoon. Many natives were seen at the sides of the lagoon, and they, and also those in canoes and on the reefs, appeared to be making signals for us to land. As, however, no canoe came off to us, we did not consider it advisable to attempt to hold intercourse circumstanced as we then were, but rather to pass on towards Darnley Island, at which we hoped to obtain interpreters and other facilities for the accomplishment of our object.

It occurred to us that some place in or near this bay would be very suitable for a mission-station. The western point, named Hood's Point, on which there is a village, and which runs out a considerable distance into the sea, would probably be a healthy spot. Night overtook us as we were off this point, so there was no further inducement to keep near the land. Hence we stood out to sea and proceeded on our course.

The part of the island we made, and to which the above remarks refer, is on the south-east side of the great Eastern Peninsula mentioned by Lieutenant Chester, and the mountain peaks we saw were part of the great central ridge which forms the backbone of the peninsula.

NEW GUINEA.

New Guinea, so called by the early Dutch navigators from a fancied resemblance of its inhabitants to those of the coast of

Guinea in Africa, is, with the exception of Australia and Borneo, the largest island on our globe. It lies in the Australian Archipelago, and is about fourteen hundred miles in extreme length, or nearly double that of Borneo. It is bounded on the south by Torres Straits; west by the Moluccas Sea; and on the north and north-east by the Pacific Ocean. The most striking geographical feature of the great Eastern Peninsula consists in a backbone of lofty mountains, apparently extending throughout its length, with peaks far surpassing those of Australia, the loftiest being more than thirteen thousand feet above the sea level. It is called the Stanley Range.

There are three remarkable table-topped mountains near the centre of the island, estimated to be quite twenty thousand feet in elevation, whose summits appear to be covered with snow, and are visible for a considerable distance. The greatest breadth of the island is over three hundred miles in longitude, 141° E., and its least breadth twenty miles at the head of Geelvink Bay and the Gulf of M'Clure.

New Guinea was discovered in 1511 by the Portuguese commanders D'Abreu and Serram, and was first visited in 1615. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the northern coasts were frequently visited by Dutch and English navigators, and in 1774 an English officer, Captain Forrest, in the service of the H.E.I.C., who was to search for spice-producing districts, resided for some months at Port Davy, on the north-east coast, and maintained constant friendly intercourse with the natives.

Until the year 1828 there is no record of Europeans having established friendly relations with the natives of the south-west coast. Indeed the names given by the early Dutch voyagers to the two principal rivers, Moordenaar or Murderer, and Doodslaager or Slaughter, prove their intercourse to have been anything but friendly. Captain Cook, who visited the south-west coast in the *Endeavour* in 1770, was the sole authority respecting the natives till 1828.

The choicest gifts of a bountiful Providence have been bestowed on this great land. Its shores are covered with groves

of cocoanuts; and it produces in abundance the banana, sago, betel, figs, oranges, lemons, and other tropical fruits. The interior abounds with valuable timber, as ironwood, ebony, canary-wood, and also with valuable spices and fragrant bark. Its forests, rivalling those of South America and Ceylon in luxuriance, afford shelter to multitudes of beautiful birds, among which are crown pigeons, black cockatoos, parrots, lorries, and birds of Paradise. The sea that washes its shores supplies an almost inexhaustible mine of wealth in the shape of trepang, pearls, tortoise-shell, &c. To this catalogue it is said gold may be added.

The name Papua, according to Mr Chester, is derived from the Malay word *puna*, woolly; and by this name the coast tribes are designated. According to the same authority the population of New Guinea and the adjacent islands is estimated at 880,000. But this, of course, is a mere guess. Considering the immense extent of the island, and the fact that the parts with which we are acquainted seem pretty thickly populated, it is probable that the above estimate is much too low. But many years must pass before any reliable estimate of the actual number can be made.

ARRIVAL AT DARNLEY ISLAND.

We sighted Darnley Island about mid-day on Saturday, July the 1st, and got to anchor towards evening. No natives, however, made their appearance. As we afterwards found, they all live on the opposite side of the island to that on which is the anchorage. At length one man was seen on the shore. A boat was at once lowered, and we pulled in to the beach. Our new acquaintance looked repulsive enough. Right glad were we, however, to make friends with him. We got him to come into the boat and accompany us to the ship without difficulty, though he manifested at first a little tremor. He understood a little English, and with the converse we were able to hold with him by words and signs, and giving him food and a small present, we soon had his full confidence. We sent him on shore again in the boat, with an urgent request to come on the

following morning accompanied by the chief or chiefs, and as many others as possible. On the following day, which was Sabbath, there was no lack of visitors. Having heard that there were white men on the island in charge of a fishing-station, belonging to some parties in Sydney, the captain started early in the morning for the opposite side of the island. In the meanwhile a number of natives appeared on the heights near the anchorage, intimating by signs and shouting their wish to get on board. They have only a few large canoes among them, which they get from the mainland of New Guinea, and these are kept on the opposite side of the island, so that they had no means of getting to the ship.

After a while the captain returned with a white man and a number of natives, among whom was Amani, the principal chief, and another man of importance. The boat was then sent for those on shore, and most of them were soon on board : among the rest was our friend of the evening before, whose name is Dabat, and whom we found to be one of the principal men of the island.

A service in the Lifu language was conducted on board, at which our visitors were present ; in all probability it was the first act of worship to the true God that they had ever witnessed. In the afternoon we went on shore and had a formal conference with the chiefs and people, through the medium of broken English. We informed them of the nature of our business, and asked them whether they wished a teacher to live among them, whether they would treat him kindly, and so on. To all our inquiries satisfactory replies were given, and all passed off in the most encouraging manner. Our way had been prepared, by the news that we were coming having preceded us, and no adverse influence had as yet been brought to bear upon the natives.

On the following day, Monday, July 3d, we took the teacher and his wife and property on shore, anticipating for them a cordial and joyful welcome. In this, however, we were disappointed. Evil counsellors had been at work during our absence, and had so influenced the principal chief and others,

that it was with difficulty we succeeded in getting their consent to the teacher remaining. Amani and the interpreter got out of the way, and a considerable time passed before they could be induced to come and meet us. Dabat, our first friend, remained staunch ; but as the other chiefs and the bulk of the people appeared ignorant and doubtful with reference to our object, we proposed a compromise which united all, viz., that the teacher should remain for twelve months, or till the next deputation visit the island, and then his continuance shall be at the option of the people. We knew that if he could only be allowed to remain, he would, with the help and blessing of God, work his way among the people, and gain their confidence and affection. The present we had designed for the three chiefs was received by Dabat, he engaging to stand by the teacher, and the bulk of the people evidently approving.

An incident occurred while these arrangements were in progress, which is worthy of being recorded as an illustration of the spirit in which our teachers have come forth on their great enterprise. The teachers spent a night on shore, and were in company with parties belonging to the fishing establishment, natives of different islands from the eastward. Among other subjects talked of, was the projected mission to Murray Island, to which the said establishment is about to be moved. On that account those belonging to it seemed specially intent on intimidating the teachers, and convincing them that the idea of commencing a mission on that island was perfectly hopeless. "There are alligators there," said they ; "and snakes, and centipedes." "Hold," said Tepeso ; "are there MEN there?" "Oh yes," was the reply, "there are men ; but they are such dreadful savages that it is no use your thinking of living among them." "That will do," responded Tepeso, "WHEREVER THERE ARE MEN, MISSIONARIES ARE BOUND TO GO!" A noble reply, worthy of a disciple of Him who commands His followers to "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

Darnley Island, or Erub, as the natives call it, lies in lat. 9° 35' S., and long. 143° 50' E. It is small, not more

than seven or eight miles in circumference. Some parts of the island look pretty; but all around the coast it is rough, and shows nothing particularly attractive. It is poorly watered, and there is no safe harbour; but safe anchorage can be found on the north side during the south-east trades. Huge boulders lie scattered all round the coast, and great piles of sandstone appear in some parts. The highest elevation is 580 feet. Every part of the interior of the island, as well as along the coast, is clothed with vegetation, and the usual tropical fruits are found. The natives are a poor, down-trodden looking race.

WARRIOR ISLAND.

We sailed from Darnley Island on Wednesday, July 5th. We had hoped to obtain interpreters there for the mainland, and at one time it seemed as if our hopes would be realised; as we found several natives of New Guinea, who were on a visit to their friends, and who expressed their willingness to return to their homes with us. Ere we left, however, misrepresentation had done its work, so that in addition to the difficulty we had in leaving the teachers on the island, the natives of New Guinea refused to go with us. This led us to determine to go to Warrior Island, which is distant from Darnley about fifty miles, and which we reached about two P.M. on the day we sailed.

Our calling at Warrior Island led to results of the utmost moment; that island will have an important place in the history of the New Guinea Mission for all time to come. We found there Captain Banner, the manager of a shelling station on the island, who received us kindly, and rendered us valuable aid in carrying out the object of our voyage. He informed us of islands which he felt sure would suit our purpose. All around the islands to which we were recommended and the adjacent coast are unsurveyed, and it was considered unadvisable to attempt to reach them in the ship. This difficulty was met by Captain Banner, who, with great kindness, placed a large open boat at our service, with a man to manage it, and a native of Warrior Island as interpreter.

Our falling in with the man who had charge of the boat is a thing to be specially noted. It was one of those wonderful providential arrangements which we have often had to mark in connection with our evangelistic efforts throughout Polynesia. In all probability there is not another man who could have rendered us the service which this man did, and yet he was just put into our hands without any seeking or planning of ours. A few particulars of his history will interest, and serve to show how he is fitted to render us such important aid. He gives his full name as Joseph John, but he goes by the name of Joe. He is a native of Nukualofa, an island of the Tongan group, the Friendly Islands of Cook. He has been away from his native land for thirty years or more, and during that time he has made an extensive acquaintance with both the civilised and the heathen world. At the time of the Crimean war he was in an English man-of-war, and for nearly six years he was connected with the British Navy. He resided in London for a time ; and he has been to Sydney again and again. He has a very extensive island experience,—especially is he well acquainted with the islands of Torres Straits and the Papuan Gulf, and his acquaintance extends, moreover, to many parts of the coast of the mainland of New Guinea. Among the islands and on the coast he is better known and has greater influence than any other living man ; and, withal, he is shrewd, sensible, and observant, and being himself an islander, and belonging to a group into which Christianity was introduced a number of years before he left his home, his sympathies are strongly with the native races, and with us in our desires to evangelise them ; and he is able to deal with them in a manner which few, if any white man, could do. The reader does not now need to be informed that Joe was the right man in the right place in our expedition.

VISIT TO TAUAN.

All the arrangements were completed on the day we reached Warrior Island, and on the following day, Thursday, July 6th, we started on our important errand. We had no white man

with us. Joe was in charge, and our crew consisted of natives of Lifu and Uvea. We took with us four teachers and their wives, Kerisiano, Waunaea, Josaia, and Simone. The weather was unfavourable, wet and unsettled ; but we had a fair wind, and a run of seven hours brought us to the island to which we were bound, Tauan, a name which will be memorable in the annals of the New Guinea Mission. We went into the anchorage, which is good and safe, and remained in the boat while Joe and the interpreter went on shore to see the chief and people, and inform them of our arrival, and of the object of our visit.

Joe had been frequently at the island, and had made friends with all belonging to it. With the chief he had exchanged names, according to a custom common on many islands ; the name of the chief is Nudai, and by that name he will continue to be known, notwithstanding the exchange made with Joe. Still the transaction forms a connecting link, a bond of friendship between our Tongan friend and his Papuan worker. Joe found that most of the people were from home ; they had gone to the adjacent island of Saibai. The chief, however, and some of the principal people were at home, and that was enough for our purpose. Joe soon returned to the beach, and called to us that all was right ; so we hastened on shore and received a most cheering welcome. After we had explained, as fully and clearly as we were able, the object of our visit and our wishes, the chief expressed his satisfaction and desire that the teachers should remain on his land, and, pointing across a little streamlet that was running by to a rising ground, he announced that that and the land beyond were at the service of the teachers on which to build and plant to as great an extent as they pleased. We made the chief a present, with which he seemed much pleased, and so passed our first transaction on the island of Tauan.

We spent some time in looking about the neighbourhood till night drew on, and brought us back to the house which the chief had given up to the teachers. It was his own house, the best in the village, and a very tolerable place, considering the

state of the people ; but the ground floor, to which we and our large party had to confine ourselves till sleeping-time came, was small ; the property of the teachers had all been huddled into it ; and we had no light but what could be produced by a fire kindled on the floor. So we were in and out, and out and in, according as it rained or otherwise. Cooking was done outside, and we had a bit of food beneath a tree. The night was dark and cheerless ; but what were these little discomforts in comparison with what had that evening been achieved ?

At the hour of evening prayer we had all the natives together, that they might witness an act of worship to the true God ; the first act of the kind, no doubt, that had ever been performed on their dark shore. The native service over, and a little conversation which followed, we withdrew, and outside the house, under the canopy of heaven, and with the great dark land of New Guinea before us and close at hand, we sang, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun," &c., poured out our hearts in fervent prayer and thanksgiving, and talked of the spread of His blessed reign, and the far-reaching consequences of the step we had been privileged to take on that ever-memorable evening.

The house in which we spent the night had an upper storey, a sort of loft, in which we slept. The houses generally—both on the island and on the mainland—have an upper storey which is used for a sleeping place. The design is, doubtless, to get out of the reach of alligators and snakes. The house in which we slept had bamboo joists, and the flooring was of cocoanut slabs, and though it was perhaps pretty strong, it felt shaky, and one was fain to move about cautiously lest it should give way, to the inconvenience of the occupants of the house both above and below. The bamboo grows to a great size, both on the islands and on the mainland, and is used for a great variety of purposes, among which are fencing, house building, and even the construction of bridges on the mainland.

There was not much sleeping in our case on the night in question, and early on the following morning (Friday, July 7th)

we were astir, and off for the neighbouring island of Saibai. This was the island specially mentioned and recommended to us by Captain Banner ; but Joe did right in taking us first to Tauan, as it has the invaluable advantage over the other of being free from fever and ague, and is not less convenient for the mainland. Both were about equally near to the land, being separated from it by a narrow channel from three to six miles in breadth.

VISIT TO SAIBAI.

Saibai is about four miles distant from Tauan. Nudai, the chief, went with us in our boat ; the people followed in two canoes. In an hour we reached the part of the island to which we were bound, and drew up in a fine safe anchorage in front of a considerable village. A large number of people—men, women, and children—crowded the beach and gave us a most friendly reception. The sight of the chief from Tauan, with our friend Joe, was enough to inspire confidence. The chief figured in a red merino shirt, the only article of dress he wore, and doubtless he felt himself a man of no small importance as he moved about and related the marvellous doings of the strangers on the previous evening.

We were led by the hand from the beach amid the noisy but friendly clamour of the crowd, to whom we were evidently objects of great wonder. We were reminded of the astonishment which was excited by the appearance of Mungo Park, in Central Africa, when searching for the sources of the Niger. Everything about us occasioned wonder, but especially our white skin. It was not enough that our hands and faces were exposed to view, we had to bare our breasts, and turn up our trousers, as if the natives were in doubt whether we really were all white. Besides, exposure to the sun and the weather had made our hands and faces about as dark as those of Joe. Hence it was only by seeing other parts that they got a correct impression. Party after party came, led by some officious youth who had already had his curiosity gratified, to see the wonderful white skins. By and by they were diverted from

ourselves to the umbrella which one of us carried. The putting this up and down, and the use of it, excited great wonder and admiration ; and a watch was regarded with a high degree of astonishment not unmingled with awe.

When the excitement had somewhat subsided, the object of our visit was explained to the chiefs and people, and by them warmly approved. The names of the chiefs of Saibai are Sauai and Maiak. Sauai, we were told, is a brother of Nudai, the chief of Tauan. He was away on a fishing excursion, so we did not see him ; but our present was received by Maiak, in the presence of all the people, and we were assured that the absence of the other would not affect the engagement into which we entered. And this is altogether likely, especially as the absent chief is brother to Nudai.

APPEARANCE OF THE PEOPLE.

We were much pleased with the appearance of the people of these islands. They are greatly superior to the natives of Darnley and Warrior Islands. They are genuine Papuans, very dark coloured, and their hair slightly curled, but not woolly. They are tall and well-proportioned, and many of them have very good features. Many are as much as five feet ten inches in height, some perhaps more, and muscular in proportion ; and they have not the cowed, down-trodden appearance of the Darnley Islanders : on the contrary, there is an air of freedom and independence about them which leads one to regard them as a manly and independent race. Poor fellows ! it is to be hoped that the withering and deteriorating influence of intercourse with a certain class of foreigners will not reduce them to a level with other tribes to which they are now superior.

They do not wear any clothing, and but few ornaments, nor do they seem to use paint, as do the natives of the New Hebrides and many other dark races. The ornaments they wear are armlets, pieces of pearl-shell polished and formed into a crescent shape, and worn on the breast suspended from the neck, and a kind of beads with which they adorn their ears.

The mode of decorating the ear is of a character not met with among the islands to the eastward. The lobe of the ear is perforated when young, and gradually distended. That is common among all the natives of Western Polynesia; but the singular part here is that when the distension is complete, the lobe is cut, and a weight is attached till it becomes elongated about an inch and a half; it is then pierced at intervals of about an eighth of an inch, and the series of holes is carried all round the rim of the ear, and in each hole a bit of red string is inserted, at each end of which a white bead is placed. This decoration must cost severe and protracted pain. It is not anything like universal; but we had a good specimen of it in one of the young men who accompanied us from Warrior Island to Tauan and Saibai. The armlets are very inferior things: they are a sort of wicker-work; they extend from about the elbow to the wrist.

The women looked debased—very much inferior to the men. Polygamy, we were sorry, though not surprised to find, is largely practised; the chief of Tauan has twelve wives, and his brother, the chief of Saibai, ten. Their position seems very much that of servants; perhaps slaves would be a more appropriate designation. They do the drudgery and hard work, while the men live at their ease, and work or not as they please. They wear a girdle of leaves.

While Joe was engaged in purchasing provisions for the ship, we walked about examining the different objects that met our view, and surveying, as far as opportunity allowed, the fine island. Twice messengers were sent after us to call us back from places to which we were about to go, for what reason we could not ascertain. But it was evident that there was some strong reason in the minds of the natives, as they called us back in a very decided though friendly manner. Probably some sacred object or enclosure was in danger of being profaned by us.

About noon we took our departure. The women had gone to get food, and it was arranged that a large party should cross to Tauan on the following day, to see the teachers and take

them a present. We had a very rough passage back to the ship. The distance is not great, about thirty miles ; but it is a dead beat, and much of the time we had a rough head sea and a strong adverse tide. We left Saibai at noon on Friday, and did not reach the *Surprise* till about sunset on Saturday, thirty hours being occupied in making thirty miles. So ended this important expedition. Our hopes had been exceeded. God had done for us great things, and we felt a satisfaction which words can but feebly express. The great object of our voyage was accomplished. The foundation of the New Guinea Mission was laid.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO ISLANDS.

But we must now return and say something a little more definite about the islands that are likely to occupy so important a position in the evangelisation of New Guinea. Of course we saw but little of them ourselves, and so are unable to give a very satisfactory account. They lie on the west side of the Great Bight, or Gulf of Papua, about lat. $9^{\circ} 30'$ and long. $142^{\circ} 40'$.

Tauan is a small, rocky, mountainous island. It has one high central mountain, which appears to reach an elevation of 1500 to 2000 feet. From this mountain the land slopes gradually down to the sea. The island looks wild and rugged for so low a latitude, very unlike islands in similar latitudes in Eastern and Central Polynesia. Immense blocks of stone are strewn about in wild confusion, and present all manner of fantastic shapes. Some look like grave-stones ; others like mounds erected over graves, and others like pillars, forming doorways and arches. Some of the blocks are of immense size, and must have been thrown into their present positions by tremendous convulsions. In some cases, one block is placed upon the top of another, forming a sort of cope-stone, and appearing as nicely poised and balanced as if it had been done by human hands.

The part of the island where the teachers are located is a snug, quiet nook, with good, safe anchorage, and a sandy

beach. There are two or three small streams in the neighbourhood, and there is a fair proportion of low land, all of which may, no doubt, be turned to good account; and the most important thing of all is that the island is healthy, and so fitted to be an available asylum at all times from the adjacent coast, and the neighbouring island, where fever and ague prevail. The stated population is very small; but there seems to be constant intercourse between it and Saibai, the population of which appears large. The circumference of the island may be about ten or twelve miles.

Saibai is totally different in character to Tauan; marvelously so, considering that the islands are not more than four miles apart. It is a low, swampy island, and fertile in the highest degree. No part of it seems to be more than about eighty feet above the level of the sea. A large part of one side is covered with mangroves; and behind the village, where we met the people, there is a very extensive fresh-water swamp, which looks as if it might generate any amount of malaria; still, as already mentioned, the natives look remarkably well.

The swamp appeared like irrigated plantations, and no doubt parts of it are under cultivation. The natives were moving about it in little skiffs, and beautiful wild ducks with snow-white plumage were seen enjoying themselves, evidently in no fear of being molested. On the further side this great swamp is protected from the incursions of the sea by a natural rampart, somewhat like the elevations that surround Mare and Lifu, and other islands of Eastern and Western Polynesia. As regards productiveness, Saibai is evidently quite a garden; and this is a matter of considerable importance in view of the comparative sterility of Tauan. It is probably from thirty to forty miles in circumference.

The two islands, as already remarked, are about equally distant from the mainland, and with the natives on the coast, not only in their immediate neighbourhood but for many miles beyond, they have close relations. Hence, getting a footing among them is really equivalent to obtaining a hold upon the

mainland ; whilst over that it has the invaluable advantage of securing a safe retreat in case of loss of health. With the prevailing winds, whether blowing from the east or the west, the channel can be crossed at any time in an hour, either from the one side or the other, there being a fair wind both ways. And on the coast is a large population, among whom we doubt not the light will soon spread, scattering the darkness of untold ages, and introducing an era, the characteristics of which will be, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will to men." Alas ! what labours, struggles, and conflicts must intervene before the full realisation and development of our scheme ; but the result is sure, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. He will sustain His servants under all, and enable them to triumph over all.

Our understanding with the teachers is that two of them, Kerisiano and Waunaea, consider themselves as specially appointed to the mainland, and that the other two regard the islands as their more immediate sphere.

The country on the mainland presents a level flat, as far as the eye can reach, except one hill of no great elevation. The whole is an unknown land, unexplored and unvisited by white men, and so it will probably remain for years to come, as other parts of New Guinea present greater attractions to those who may resort to it for scientific or commercial purposes.

VISIT TO CAPE YORK.

On Monday the 10th of July we sailed from Warrior Island at nine A.M., and stood for Cape York, the northern point of Australia, which we reached on the evening of Tuesday the 11th. Cape York is only sixty miles from Warrior Island. Our object in calling at Cape York was to see Mr Jardine, agent of the Queensland Government, and Lieutenant Chester, ex-police magistrate, who reside there, and also to take in water for the return voyage. We thought it important to see Mr Jardine on account of his official position, and Mr Chester on account of the warm interest he takes in the native races, and the frequent cruises he makes among the islands.

We wished to acquaint them with what we had done and intended doing in the way of landing teachers ; to enlist their sympathies in our object ; bespeak attention and succour for the teachers should danger or difficulty arise ; and get from them any information that may be useful in our future operations.

We at length reached Somerset, where these gentlemen reside. As we opened up the bay, Port Albany, at the head of which is the Government settlement, we were much struck with the beauty of the scene. The house in which Messrs Jardine and Chester reside stands upon high ground, some two hundred feet or more above the sea level. It is covered with an iron roof, has spacious verandahs, and looks exceedingly neat ; and with the various other houses by which it is surrounded, and which compose the settlement, it presents altogether an imposing sight.

Mr Jardine met us at the landing-place and gave us a most friendly reception, and we spent, in company with him and Mr Chester, two or three pleasant and profitable hours, giving and receiving information mutually interesting. Mr Jardine authorised us to instruct our teachers that, in the event of danger or difficulty arising, they have only to apply to him, and he will render them all the assistance in his power. Thus they will always have an available retreat at Somerset should they have occasion to seek it : and Mr Chester will visit them, and give them countenance and encouragement when he makes his rounds among the islands. He has promised to visit Darnley Island shortly, and take the teacher appointed to Murray Island to his destination, should he find him still on Darnley. Mr Chester is well known on Murray Island ; hence his accompanying the teacher is likely to be of much service. On the whole we were much gratified by our visit to these gentlemen. We saw only two Englishmen who appeared to be residents at Somerset, in addition to Messrs Jardine and Chester, and the mother of the former. All the other persons connected with the establishment appear to be natives of Australia, with a few from some of the islands to the eastward.

Several native troopers figure about the establishment in a uniform which gives them something of an imposing appearance. They are paid £3 per month, which we were glad to find they have it not in their power to spend in intoxicating drinks.

All about Cape York is a fine healthy country ; the fever and ague said to be prevalent on New Guinea are unknown, as are also other diseases incident to tropical climates ; and for so low a latitude it is wonderfully cool at this season of the year. But this is true of all the places we have visited throughout the Straits and the Papuan Gulf. The southeasterly trade winds, which blow almost constantly for half the year, keep the temperature cool ; and we were told that during the other part of the year, when westerly and north-westerly winds prevail, the heat is not very oppressive.

While on our way to and from Somerset certain curious-looking objects attracted our attention on the slopes of the hills, the nature of which we could not conjecture, and we had not an opportunity of examining them. They were of a drab colour, and bore some resemblance to tombstones, but some of them terminated in two, three, or more spiral turrets. The mystery was solved on our second visit to Tauan, where the same strange objects again arrested our attention ; they were found to be ants' nests ! Some of them were twelve feet in height, and as many round.

RETURN TO TAUAN.

We sailed from Cape York on Friday, July 15th. Having brought up at Rennel Island, we found a letter from Josaia, informing us that he and Simone had left the island under circumstances which led them to suppose that their lives were in danger. We at once hastened to Warrior Island, where we found them ; and then with two boats ran down to Tauan. One of these boats we had purchased for the use of the teachers and we proposed to leave it at Tauan. On rounding the point of the island, we descried them on the beach. Fervent gratitude to God filled our hearts, and corresponding expressions escaped from our lips. We hastened on shore, and spent the

day with our faithful teachers and their wives, experiencing a satisfaction which words can but feebly express.

We found all right : no change whatever, except in the right direction, had taken place in the feelings or conduct of the people towards the teachers. What then had led to the strange proceedings of those who had deserted their post and fled, and whose conduct had occasioned us such an amount of trouble and anxiety ? The following is the explanation. Soon after the teachers were landed, it must have been the next day, or at latest the second day, a small vessel, the —, belonging to Sydney, commanded by Captain —, engaged in shelling or fishing, touched at the island. The said vessel anchored abreast of the settlement where the teachers are located ; and the captain and his mate, and a number of his people, went to the plantations of the natives and helped themselves to sweet potatoes, bananas, cocoa-nuts, &c. The natives were almost all absent at the time on the neighbouring island of Saibai, and when they returned, and found that their plantations had been plundered, they were of course excited, and a hostile demonstration was the consequence. All the teachers were alarmed, and thought themselves in danger. This seems clear from the fact, that the two who remained retired by turns to commit themselves by prayer to the Divine protection. But when the question of flight was raised, one of them, Waunaea, said he would not leave ; the natives had done nothing to them, and he was determined to remain. Upon this, Kerisiano announced that he would stay with Waunaea ; and the other two being inclined to leave, they told them to go, and they would remain and await the issue.

And what are the mighty inducements that lead men, priding themselves on possessing a white skin, and calling themselves Christians, to be guilty of conduct so mean and contemptible ? In the present case some two boats'-loads or so of vegetables were obtained, which might have been purchased for trifles of the value of a few shillings. Really one wonders that men will stoop to conduct so exceedingly paltry. We left a paper with the teachers, certifying who and what they are, commending

them to the kind attention of visitors, and expressing deep regret on account of the lawless conduct of certain parties at this island and elsewhere, making special reference to the case which had just occurred, and expressing an earnest hope that there will be no repetition of such doings in future. And here we may remark, as a warning to those who are implicated in the practice animadverted upon, that unless they are discontinued, we shall be constrained to expose the perpetrators. We are in a position to do that to a considerable extent now, and as light spreads, concealment will be more and more difficult. We went, led by a native, and saw for ourselves the plundered plantations of Tauan, and not a little grieved and ashamed did we feel, to think that men of our own colour, and speaking our own tongue, should have been the perpetrators of such a contemptible deed.

The teachers and the people of Tauan were delighted at our return. We had much important intercourse with them, and left them in circumstances mutually satisfactory to them and to ourselves. We succeeded at Warrior Island in engaging a native of that place to remain with them for a month as an interpreter. He had been to Sydney, and has a considerable acquaintance with the English language, and bears a good character; moreover, he is a man of some consequence on his own island, and this will not be lost at Tauan. When his month there is up, another native of Warrior Island will take his place at Tauan in a similar capacity, who is also fitted to be of much use to the teachers. They have, beside, the boat which we purchased, so that they can move about at any time as occasion may require.

VISIT TO THE MAINLAND. KATAU.

We left Tauan at two A.M. on Monday, July 17th. We were given to understand by our friend Joe that in returning to Warrior Island we might, without loss of time, stand along the coast of the mainland; and have intercourse with the people of Katau, a populous village which he had visited, and with whose chief and people he had formed an acquaintance.

Everything turned out as Joe had represented, and we were very thankful that we acted upon his advice.

In the channel between Saibai and the mainland, and for some distance beyond, we had very light winds. Hence our progress was slow for the first four or five hours, and though the place to which we were bound is only about twenty miles from Tauan, we did not reach it till near noon. For hours we were moving slowly along the coast of the great land, our progress being retarded by an adverse tide. We had a good opportunity of observing every object as we passed. There is little variety; the land is low all along; we passed only one little hill. A mangrove swamp extends for many miles, terminating at the district to which we were bound. Beyond that are groves of cocoa-nuts, and beyond these are interminable forests, stretching away into the interior.

As we drew near our destination a fine river opened out to view. The weather was unfavourable, wet, and unsettled; hence the river and the district, with their surroundings, did not show to advantage. Nevertheless, we looked upon them with intense interest. We made our way some distance up the river, and dropped anchor opposite the settlement of Katau. We can hardly hazard an opinion as to the breadth of the river. The current did not seem very broad, but the space covered by fresh water must have been a full mile. Its course is distinctly marked for a considerable distance into the sea. Joe informed us that it has two mouths, about four miles apart, the second of which we could not see. Between it and us was an island, near which we anchored. The island looks very interesting, and adds much to the picturesque beauty of the scene. The river must pour down an immense body of water, especially when flooded. The sea was discoloured for miles on the day of our visit. A native of Warrior Island, who was with us, told us that the river extends a long way into the interior, and that large numbers of people are found on its banks.

At our first approach the natives looked shy and distrustful. Six or seven appeared, and watched us cautiously as we drew

near ; and it was not till Joe and the young man from Warrior Island were recognised, that we got their confidence. From the appearance of those who showed themselves we felt assured that we had nothing to fear ; so we moved our boat as near the shore as we could get, in order to enable the natives to reach us. As soon as we had done this they waded in to the boat, and we were soon warm friends. Among those who came out to us was Maiuo, the chief, a friend of Joe, and another man of importance. Confidence soon spread, and large numbers appeared on the beach. The women and children, and the old people, kept out of the way ; still all were unarmed, and we could readily see that no danger was to be apprehended. We found, after landing, that the natives had hung green boughs in front of their houses, when they saw us at a distance, as an indication of their desire for friendly intercourse. One of the principal men who came to the boat had a basket slung over his shoulder, containing three or four heads of cooked taro. These he offered, thinking probably that we were hungry, and being desirous of showing himself friendly.

INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES.

After some delay in the boat we went on shore, and had the high gratification of setting foot on the mainland of New Guinea, and holding intercourse with its people on their own soil. And interesting enough was that intercourse. Few of those we met had seen a white man before. Lieutenant Chester and Captain Banner visited this place during the course of last year : but they landed armed, and the consequence was that the natives fled into the bush, except some twenty or thirty. In our case there was perfect confidence. The men crowded around us to have their curiosity gratified, and the women peered at us from the upper storeys of their houses. By the way, the houses are very remarkable. One which we saw, and measured, was over a hundred feet long ; yet that was a small one comparatively, as the following extract from Lieutenant Chester's journal proves :—"Some of these houses were

upwards of three hundred feet in length, and appeared like immense tunnels when viewed inside."

As at Saibai, the umbrellas were objects of special interest ; so much so, that we could not resist the temptation to leave them with the people. One was given to the chief, and the other to another man of importance, and the demonstrations that followed the small gift were amusing indeed. One grand difficulty, however, soon checked their joy : the umbrellas were opened and could not be shut again ; although we had repeatedly opened and shut them amid roars of applause. At length one fortunate fellow discovered the secret, and was rewarded by the loud acclamations of the bystanders.

We found the people here very much like those of Saibai and Tauan, so that what has been said of the one will apply to the other. They are a mild, inoffensive-looking race, and they are industrious, if we judge from the abundance of food which they seem to possess. When they were given to understand that a little trading would be done, taro, bananas, and cocoa-nuts were soon forthcoming ; and in a short time Joe and Mr Ormiston, the mate of our vessel, had bought as much as we could conveniently carry away.

We made it our special business, of course, to try and give to the chief and people some idea of our object in visiting them and their neighbours. We told them of the teachers we had left at Tauan and Darnley Island, and of our visit to Saibai, striving to convey some notion of the benefits which will accrue from the presence and labours of teachers. The chief declared his approval, and his wish to have teachers to live with him ; he said he would go to Tauan, and see those left there, and that he would receive and provide for them whenever they might visit his land. Thus we have got one open door on the mainland of New Guinea ; and who can tell the mighty results to which that may lead ? There are some 600 or 700 people connected with the village we visited ; there is another settlement a little further up the river on the same side ; and there is doubtless a large population on the banks of the river, stretching away into the great unknown interior.

With only one request of the chief we were unable to comply. Having entered into a friendly compact with us, he wanted us to help him to fight a tribe on the opposite side of the river, who are hostile to him. Quite a natural idea for him to wish to turn his new friends to account in that way. We hope, ere a great while, to show him a more excellent way,—namely, by changing enemies to friends. Let teachers get a footing among both parties, and their ancient feuds are likely soon to be forgotten, and peace and good-will to be established in their room.

The river on whose banks these people reside has neither name nor place on any chart. It, and its surroundings, and all on as far as Saibai and Tauan, and we know not how much further beyond, are unexplored. In the meanwhile, till a better name can be found, we may call it the Katau River.

RETURN TO DARNLEY ISLAND.

About two P.M. we took our leave of our new acquaintances, leaving them evidently much gratified with our visit, as assuredly we were with the intercourse we had had with them. We had a rough, disagreeable passage back to Warrior Island, but all ended well. We reached the *Surprise* about noon on Tuesday, the 18th July.

We left Warrior Island on Wednesday, July 10th, feeling deeply grateful to our friend Captain Banner, and to Captain Bedford also, of the *James Merriman*, connected with the same establishment, who had manifested the kindest interest in our operations and sympathy with us in our difficulties. Our course was again directed towards Darnley Island. We brought up for the night at Rennel Island, and on the following morning again made sail. We had a hard day's beating, and got to anchor early on Friday morning, July 21st.

We had the satisfaction of finding all going on well with the teachers. A number of the people had attached themselves to them, and these and others had assisted them to put up a neat little cottage. Thus at this early stage of the mission they are

comfortably housed, and their circumstances altogether are full of encouragement. We were unable to get to sea on Saturday, on account of ship's business, so we spent the Sabbath at the island. We went round to the settlement where the teachers are stationed, and had service with them. The occasion was deeply interesting. In addition to the teachers and their families, and a number of natives from the Loyalty Islands, we had quite a company of natives assembled; about eighty, old and young. They were, of course, mere spectators; still it was pleasing to see them, as it showed interest and friendly feeling. About thirty of them had managed to get a little clothing; very scanty in most cases, yet interesting to see. About that number have decidedly attached themselves to the teachers, and show them great kindness. Our first acquaintance, Dabat, continues their staunch friend; and on the whole their prospects are very encouraging.

Mataika, who it will be remembered is appointed to Murray Island, and was left here only temporarily, will proceed to his destination as soon as a suitable opportunity offers; which is likely to be in about six weeks or two months from the time of our visit. Soon after the service, we bade the teachers and others on shore adieu, and returned to the ship; and early on Monday morning, July 24th, we weighed anchor, and set sail on our return voyage.

VOYAGE OF THE "JOHN KNOX." MR THORNGREN.

Great interest attaches to our having made a second visit to Darnley Island, from the fact of our having fallen in there with the *John Knox*. After the idea of attempting the commencement of the mission in her was abandoned, and the employment of a larger vessel determined upon, it was arranged that she should still proceed with us, as part of our expedition, and that she and Mr Thorngren should render us such assistance as might be practicable. Mr Thorngren had resided for some time on Darnley Island, and so had experience which it was

hoped would turn to valuable account. And now he had made up his mind to return to his former home, and settle there. It was hoped, moreover, that his presence there with his handy little vessel might be of much service to us in the early years of the New Guinea Mission.

The *John Knox* is a fine little cutter, but she is only eleven tons burden. Mr Thorngren set out on his adventurous voyage from New Caledonia with sixteen souls on board, some of them women and children, and all of them, with a single exception, natives of the Loyalty Islands. Had he made a direct course, he would have had to traverse fifteen or sixteen hundred miles of ocean. Some of the passengers were to have gone in our vessel. Hoping to fall in with us at the south-east end of New Guinea, he made for the Louisiades, but was carried by contrary winds to the Solomon Archipelago, which he mistook for the Louisiades. Then New Britain was mistaken for New Guinea; and Mr Thorngren stood along the coast till the appearance of the land convinced him that he was on the wrong side of New Guinea. By continuing his course westward, his convictions were confirmed, and he had to make the best of his way back against a head-wind.

On his way he spent twenty-one days among the islands of the D'Entrecasteaux group. He met with very kind treatment from the natives, and gathered valuable information which will be of use to us in our prospective operations.

One very important point seems clear from his account—viz., that the natives of that large group, and most probably those of the adjacent coast, belong to the Malay race. The colour of their skin, their straight but slightly curled hair, and words in their language unmistakably Malayan, the high position occupied by the women, their mode of dress, tattooing, carving of canoes, &c., all go to identify them with the Malay tribes, who people the islands of Eastern and Central Polynesia. The group consists of four or five very large islands, and a great number of small ones. All the more considerable islands are inhabited. They are separated by narrow channels, and

would form a fine field for missionary labour ; just the field for teachers from Eastern and Central Polynesia. The large islands are very lofty ; some of them appearing to reach an elevation of from 5000 to 7000 feet.

Various curiosities obtained by Mr Thorngren show that the people have quite a taste for carving, an additional proof of their Malayan origin. They have indifferent houses and poor war-weapons, their skill and taste being chiefly seen in the construction and decoration of their canoes. After leaving this interesting group Mr Thorngren fell in with a fishing-party from, he supposes, an island called Bonvouloir, lying off the north-east end of New Guinea. The party consisted of twenty persons in two canoes ; they and Mr Thorngren and his people spent a day together, during which the two companies seem to have formed quite a friendship. When they came to part, the savages embraced the white men with all affection, as if they had been old and intimate friends. How different from the kind of intercourse which so often takes place between civilised and uncivilised men when they first come into contact ! Of course Mr Thorngren was entirely in the power of the natives at the different places at which he anchored. At any moment they might have surrounded him and his small party, and overpowered them ; yet no disposition was shown to take advantage of their circumstances, a satisfactory proof of the peaceful and friendly character of these people, and a presumptive proof that among barbarous, as well as civilised men, the rule will generally hold, that men are to us what we are to them. "He that would have friends must show himself friendly," and he who does this will generally meet with an appropriate response.

As far as Mr Thorngren could judge, the people from the small island spoke the same language as those of the large group. After parting with these people, Mr Thorngren made his way round the east cape of New Guinea, and thence to Darnley Island, where he terminated his adventurous and eventful voyage on the 19th July, fifty-nine days from the time of his leaving New Caledonia. It was a great relief to us

to find that the party had reached their destination in safety, as we had serious fears lest some disaster should have befallen them.

REDFCAR BAY ON THE MAINLAND.

After leaving Darnley Island, on Monday, July 24th, we stood over towards the coast of the mainland of New Guinea; hoping, by so doing, to fall in with slants, if not with fair winds, to enable us to make our way to the east. On Tuesday the high land was sighted; but we had very light winds for the next twenty-four hours. On Friday, the 28th, we stood close in to land, and had a good view of Yule Island and the country adjacent. We were near enough to see the natives on shore, but none of them showed any disposition to come off to us.

Yule Island is about four miles in length, and one in breadth. It is 534 feet in height, and with the exception of a few grass patches, it is covered with apparently large timber. It lies in front of a very extensive opening in the coast, which is supposed to be the mouth of a large river. The adjacent coast is unsurveyed. The island looks as if it might prove a Tauan for this part of the mainland, when we may be able to extend our operations thus far along the coast. These small islands lying close to the mainland are likely to be of great service in carrying on the evangelisation of New Guinea, as they are almost certainly free from the diseases that are said to prevail on the low land along the coast. Yule Island is in latitude $8^{\circ} 4' S.$, and longitude $146^{\circ} 30' E.$

Rough weather came on just as we were leaving this part of the island, and for the next four or five days we made no progress. On Wednesday, the 2nd of August, we made the land again, very little to windward of where we were on the Thursday preceding. The south-east trades in these parts seem to blow very strongly all the time at this season of the year. For three days of the above interval we had strong head-winds and a very high sea, while it was quite fine overhead; the sun shining by day and the moon by night. Thus

it is a very formidable undertaking indeed to get to windward. On the afternoon of Thursday, August 3rd, we were abreast of Redscar Bay, and on the following day, about noon, we anchored near the east point of the bay, close to a remarkable headland named Redscar Head. The name Redscar was given to this point and the bay on account of the reddish colour of the cliffs. We were able to turn our stay in Redscar Bay to valuable account.

The natives were at first exceedingly shy. They showed no disposition to come near the ship; and had no advance been made on our part we should doubtless have left without holding intercourse with them. But on Saturday morning a boat was sent to the shore, and after a while returned with a man and a boy. They were from a canoe which the boat had met. No natives were found where it landed, though we had seen a number about the place the day before; they were evidently distrustful, and so were inclined to keep out of our way. By bestowing little presents upon the man and the boy, and sending them back to the shore to display their gifts, and tell the wonderful tale of what they had seen, we gained our end; there was no more difficulty in getting intercourse on shore.

The most important thing connected with our visit to this place is, that we have ascertained that this part of the coast is peopled by the Malay race. This confirms the impression we got in passing Hood's Bay, seventy-five miles further to the eastward, from the view we had of the natives there: and now we may almost certainly conclude that the whole coast of the Eastern Peninsula, on the south side, from Redscar Bay and possibly from Yule Island, is peopled by the same race. Very probably, judging from the information obtained from Mr Thorngren, the same is true of the north side. It is not unlikely that the dark race may be found in the interior.

We have ascertained another important point by calling here, viz., that there is no difficulty in having friendly intercourse with the light-coloured races on Papua any more than with the dark. In the case of both we have now tested the thing, and we have seen no trace of that invincible ferocity and

treachery which have hitherto been regarded as their prominent characteristics. That they have been guilty of deeds of shocking cruelty and barbarism is beyond dispute. But we suspect that if all the circumstances were known, it would generally be found that there have been misunderstandings; or that a wrong policy has been adopted by the visitors; or that in some cases these have been guilty of deeds which fully account for the excesses committed by the natives. In dealing with a barbarous people everything, in all ordinary circumstances, depends upon the manner in which that intercourse is conducted. Among the natives of Redscar Bay only a single weapon of war was seen by parties who went on shore and moved freely about among them; this was a stone club carried by the chief of the party.

The people of this neighbourhood are a fine race. "They are of a light copper colour, and have handsome features and good expression. Painting the face or body does not seem to be practised here; but the men are usually tattooed on the breast, cheeks, forehead, and arms. It is much fainter and less profuse than among the women, every visible part of whose skin is generally marked with a great variety of patterns. The women wear a petticoat of shreds of the pandanus leaf, reaching to the knee, and the men a narrow piece of cloth secured by a string round the waist."¹ What the men wear is the *maro*, or *malo*, known all over the islands of Eastern and Central Polynesia, and worn by some whole groups, as the Marquesans, in their heathen state. Thus it forms one among the many links that connect them with the light-coloured races on New Guinea.

We have seen no place on New Guinea equal in beauty and grandeur to Redscar Bay and its surroundings. The bay is twenty-three miles in breadth and seven in depth. From Redscar Head, which forms the eastern extremity, to the Manoa River, five miles distant, the coast is covered with mangroves, and for some distance inland is is probably uninhabited, and

* Voyage of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, in 1845-6.

unfit for cultivation. The river must either be very large, or the conjecture we have met with must be correct, that there is another large river further to the west, as an immense body of fresh water is discharged into the sea. The fresh water line is visible for miles, and the stream is about two miles in breadth. For fifteen miles inland, and thirty-five miles north-west and south-east, the country is low, but it is not a dead flat. There are several hills from the eastern Head onward towards the west; and there is a small mountain range near the west side, which reaches an elevation of 770 feet. Inland at the distance of forty miles is the great Stanley Range, which terminates the view. It is very lofty at this part,—over 13,000 feet,—and looks very grand. At early morn, when the weather is fine, the scene is enchanting. The clear, blue outline of the distant mountains towering far above the clouds; their sides and the hills and valleys at their base, skirted and partially covered with snow-white drapery; with the rich and beautiful country which stretches out to view on every hand, form a picture of indescribable beauty and grandeur. So far as we could ascertain, the people appeared to have their settlement near the river, and there probably will be the place for a station when we may be able to commence a mission at this inviting place.

We sailed on Monday, August 7th, and, with our visit to this place, our intercourse with New Guinea, for the present, came to an end.

CONCLUSION.

The London Missionary Society, under whose auspices this field has been opened up, will doubtless endeavour to prosecute with vigour the great enterprise of its evangelisation. That Society having a native agency at its disposal such as no other Society (so far as we know) possesses, is in a peculiarly favourable position for undertaking it.

The extensive territory examined by us is peopled by two distinct races: the dark race having much in common with the tribes found on most of the islands of Western Polynesia;

and a light-coloured race, evidently having a common origin with the natives of Eastern and Central Polynesia. It so happens that the London Missionary Society has just the kind of agency needed for the evangelisation of these two races. In the Loyalty Islands it has what is needed for the dark race ; and for those of Malay origin it has the Tahitian Mission, the Hervey Island Mission, the Niue Mission, and the Samoan Mission ; each of which is in a position to furnish its quota of labourers for the great undertaking, who are just the kind of labourers needed.

We commend the infant Mission to the watchful care of the great Master, and pray that in a very large measure His blessing may rest upon its great future. To Him who hath so graciously prospered our way, and permitted us to realise the desire of our hearts, to Him be glory, honour, dominion, and praise, now and ever. Amen.

A. W. MURRAY.
S. M'FARLANE.

Instead of being absent from Lifu two, or, at most, three months, as we anticipated, we were over five months. Strong winds and currents prevented our progress, in consequence of which we ran short of provisions. The native crew were reduced to one cocoanut each per day, and we to a little dry biscuit and coffee, and we all had fish when we could catch them! At Lifu they had begun to entertain grave doubts about our safety, which was perfectly natural, considering the dangerous navigation and the savage character of the natives at New Guinea. Great was the joy, therefore, on our return, and equally great was our gratitude to Almighty God for His goodness to us, and to those we had left behind. About three months afterwards we left for England, in order to edit the New Testament and Psalms in the Lifu language, and to make definite arrangements with the Directors of our Society for carrying on the work on New Guinea.

The introduction of Christianity to the millions of New Guinea forms a very important epoch, not only in the history of our operations in the South Seas, but also in that of the London Missionary Society. It is the largest, most interesting, and most valuable island upon which our Society has established a mission; and now that the work is fairly commenced, and approved, and publicly sanctioned by the Board of Directors, we stand pledged and committed to maintain it efficient; the practical question is, how can that be most economically done.

Whilst exercising unwavering faith in the ultimate triumph of the gospel on New Guinea, we shall best

expedite so desirable an end by looking the difficulties before us fairly in the face at the beginning, and arranging our plans accordingly.

In the first place, we have to encounter difficulties in getting *at* the natives. Navigation in Torres Straits is considered the most intricate and dangerous in the world. The coast of New Guinea, where we have established our mission, has not been surveyed, and the river on whose banks we landed is unknown. We have to encounter sunken rocks and reefs, sand and mud banks, currents and calms, and we must be prepared to do it.

In the second place, we have to face a sickly climate, where it has been proved that to remain on the coast for a single night means to be laid up for three months with fever and ague, which happened to seventeen natives engaged in the pearl shell fishery, who spent a night near the Fly river.

In the third place, we have to meet a savage, treacherous, blood-thirsty people, who have made cannibal feasts of many a shipwrecked crew ; who pent up the 360 Chinese passengers of the *St Paul* that was lost on their shores, clubbing and cooking three or four every morning until only four remained.

And in the fourth place, our difficulties are immensely increased, compared with an island like Madagascar, by having to do with a people who are divided into numerous small tribes, speaking various languages, and governed by despotic chiefs.

Now in order to meet these difficulties it is clear that we must adopt some other plan than that which we have

hitherto been pursuing in the South Seas. To go in the *John Williams*, and locate teachers on New Guinea, to be left unvisited till her return voyage, twelve months afterwards, would be simply inhuman. A new station on such an island should be visited within a month after it has been established. So that two things are essential—missionaries must be on the spot, and they must have the means of paying frequent visits to the teachers, in order to direct, protect, and if necessary remove them.

A small mission vessel is indispensable for the New Guinea mission, and considering the dangerous navigation on the coast, and the necessity of getting up the rivers and on to the highlands as soon as possible, it is highly desirable that the vessel should have steam power. To the many advantages of a small steamer for our work may be added that of economy, for a sailing vessel would have to be large and powerful, in order to be able to beat to windward *outside* the barrier reef of New Guinea, whereas a small steamer can thread its way inside the reef more rapidly and more safely; and should the natives, at any place, show hostile demonstrations, we can steam quietly away and try somewhere else.

The Directors of our Society (many of whom are practical men in these matters) have decided that a small steamer is necessary for the efficient working of the New Guinea Mission, and during my late visit to Scotland, Miss Baxter of Dundee very generously offered to provide such a vessel, for which purpose she handed to the Directors the sum of £2000. Doubtless, other friends, anxious to identify themselves with the opening up of New

Guinea, will provide the annual cost of its maintenance, which will be about four or five hundred pounds.

The Mission requires a vessel, and a vessel requires safe anchorage at headquarters. Considering the difficulties to be encountered, it is clear that we should begin by settling on healthy localities near the mainland, and by constant communication form the acquaintance of the natives. We should form our headquarters at some point where we can plant our feet firmly without a fear of exciting the cupidity of the natives, and having the station broken up, a point that will be suitable for a sanatorium for our Mission; where we can establish a school for natives from the mainland; which may also be a place of refuge in case of necessity; and where there is a good harbour, and plenty of fresh water. During our visit we looked out for such a place, and found it at Cape York, the most northern point of Australia. It is only eighty miles from New Guinea, and there are numerous islands between where teachers may and should be located. We found a number of unoccupied houses which had been erected by the marines who were located there some time ago by the Queensland Government, and these have very kindly been placed at our disposal.

Let Cape York be the depot of our New Guinea Mission, at least for a time, and with the voyage of the *John Williams* so arranged that she may call there on her way to Sydney, bringing teachers and supplies, and giving us as much of her time as can be spared, in order to visit parts of the coast that cannot be safely reached in our small steamer, we may, with a little rearranging

of the forces that we already possess, be able to carry on this new, and very interesting and very important mission, without any very great extra expenditure of the Society's funds.

The whole thing seems feasible, yet we must not be too sanguine, but rather prepared for difficulties and disasters. We are taking up our position before a mighty fortress, whose grim walls frown upon us, and to storm it will require all the piety, courage, skill, and patience that we can command. Let us wisely take every precaution, and go steadily to work, planting ourselves as securely as possible, and retaining every inch of ground we gain, until that great island is transformed into smiling fields and peaceful happy villages. If sustained by the sympathies and prayers of the Churches at home, and guided, protected, and prospered by the great Head of the Church, we shall then see the gospel, which on Lifu triumphed over the vices of heathenism, the stratagems of Popery, and the *kalaboose* of French, the triumph also over every obstacle that presents itself on New Guinea.

After reading a paper to the Board of Directors of the London Missionary Society, on the subject of the New Guinea Mission, in December 1872, at which there was a large gathering of Directors, and five of my missionary brethren from the South Seas, and after the case had been considered on several occasions, and committees had reported on various details, the following resolutions were adopted :—

1. That Cape York be made, for the present, the headquarters of the New Guinea Mission.
2. That not less than three English missionaries be appointed as the first missionary staff labouring on and around the coasts of that island.
3. That, in the judgment of the Directors, the circumstances under which the New Guinea Mission is established render it necessary that a small steam vessel shall be placed at the command of the Mission for local service.
4. That as Miss Baxter of Dundee has kindly offered to present such a vessel to the Mission, the Directors cordially accept her offer, and that the vessel be built in Dundee.
5. That, in their judgment, the vessel should be about fifty feet long, and of forty tons register.
6. That the Directors take upon themselves the annual charge of the vessel, which will probably not be less than £500 a-year: thus making the New Guinea Mission a total extra charge to the Society of about £1000 a-year beyond the present outlay of the South Sea Mission.

THE END.





UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

BV
3680
L95M16

3V3530, L95M16

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
THIS BOOK CARD



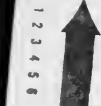
University Research Library

CALL NUMBER

SER VOL PT COP

AUTHOR

MAGFARLANE/STORY



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57

